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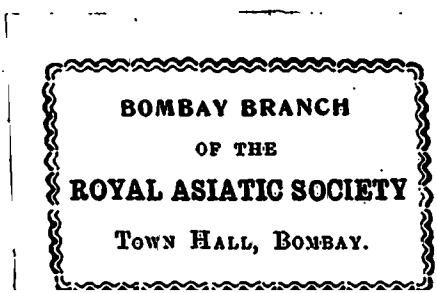

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RUSSIA AT THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

M.DCCC.LVI.

RUSSIA

AT THE CLOSE OF THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

COMPRISING,

THE TREATISE

"Of the Russe Common Wealth,"

BY

DR. GILES FLETCHER;

AND

The Travels of

SIR JEROME HORSEY, KNT.,

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PRINTED ENTIRE FROM HIS OWN MANUSCRIPT.

EDITED BY

EDWARD A. BOND,

ASSISTANT KEEPER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE two works which form the present publication are connected by more than one tie of relationship. They treat of the state of Russia, or of affairs relating to its history, at the same period; and they are both written by men who had a personal knowledge of the country: the author of the former having visited it as an ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Czar Fedor Ivanovitch, in the year 1588; and the author of the latter having been, from about the year 1575 to 1591, more or less continually resident there, first as an agent of the Russia Company, and subsequently as an envoy from the English court. The one serves as a sequel to or complement of the other; for, as the first gives a view of the institutions and form of government of Russia, the distinctions of the several ranks of society, and the religion, habits and customs of the people; the other records incidents in history, observations of the characters of the sovereign and his principal ministers, and valuable anecdotes of personal adventure in the country. Moreover, the author of the latter of the two tracts

professes to have furnished that of the former with much of the material of his work.

Together, they will be found to give, with great completeness, a picture of the condition of Russia at the close of the reign of Ivan Vasilievitch;—a monarch perhaps the most remarkable of those who had hitherto reigned; of great personal abilities and capacity for governing; of a nature strangely combining extremes of good and evil; but in which the latter gained, as he advanced in years, so much the ascendant as to drive him to atrocities almost unexampled, and to gain for him from his trembling people the title of "the Terrible";—and during the first years of the following reign, when the ambitious brother-in-law of this emperor's son and successor was working out his deep-laid schemes for placing the crown on his own head.

The period is of special interest to Englishmen, as following so nearly on the commencement of their direct intercourse with a country whose character and policy have become subjects of their eager scrutiny, and by whose future career their own is likely to be deeply influenced.

Scarce thirty years had expired since, at the instigation of the illustrious Sebastian Cabot, and stirred by a spirit of rivalry with the Spanish and Portuguese adventurers in the New World and far East, merchants of London had associated together to set on foot exploring expeditions to penetrate, as they hoped, by the North Sea to the land of Cathay. Despite the miserable fate of a part of the first explorers, Sir Hugh Willoughby and his crew,—frozen to death

in those stern regions,—the port of St. Nicholas was discovered, and a footing was obtained on the coast of the great Russian empire, hitherto only communicated with through the medium of the Hanse merchants. The first success was not left unimproved by want of energy and enterprise on the part of the Company. Acting in accordance with the spirit of their first formation, indicated in their title, as "The Society for the discovery of Unknown Lands", they had no sooner established themselves on the Russian coast, than they despatched expeditions in quick succession in the direction of the north-east, still intent on realizing their first expectation of opening a new route to China. These efforts have been already referred to in a recent publication of the Society,[1] and we need not again describe them. But while making every exertion in this direction, the possibility of establishing a communication with India through Russia itself and Persia was equally engaging their attention. As early as the year 1557, their agent, Anthony Jenkinson, who had had previous experience of travel in the East, arrived in Russia, commissioned to explore a route to China, and having charge of merchandise to dispose of on the Company's account.[2] He left Moscow on the 23rd of April, 1558. Descending the river Oka, he entered the Volga at Nishni-Novgorod, and sailing down that river reached Astracan on the 14th of July. Coasting the Cas-

[1] "Three Voyages by the North-East," edited by C. T. Beke, Phil.D., 1853. Introduction, p. viii.

[2] See Hakluyt's Voyages, etc., of the English Nation; ed. London, 1809, vol. i, p. 362.

pian Sea, he arrived at Mangushluk on the 1st of September. From this point he commenced a land journey, with a caravan of a thousand camels, and passing by Selzira and Urghendi, succeeded in reaching Bokhara on the 23rd of December. Here he learned that the caravan communication, which had been established between this town and the empire of China, was now discontinued on account of a war which had been for the last three years raging between two of the Tartar hordes; and unable to prosecute his journey he was forced to return to Moscow, which he regained in September 1559.

In the year 1561[1] the same spirited traveller was engaged by the Company to renew his exploring expedition to the East, and arrived at Moscow with that view in the month of August, bringing with him letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Czar, bespeaking his interest and assistance in behalf of this new effort. In this voyage endeavours were to be made to establish a trade with Persia itself, and Jenkinson was the bearer of the Queen's letters also to the Shah, containing proposals to that end. He set out on the 27th of April, 1562. The same route was followed as in the previous expedition as far as the Caspian Sea, which they again navigated, and disembarked at Shabran. Their land journey was through Shamaka and Ardabil to Casbin, which they reached on the 2nd of November, 1562. Here Jenkinson was received by the Shah, but was frustrated in his hope of settling commercial relations with the government

[1] Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. i, p. 381.

in consequence of its resumption of peace with Turkey, and the restoration of the ancient course of trade with that country.

In the year 1565[1] another expedition to Persia was despatched by the Company's agent at Moscow, and orders were given that the commander of it, William Johnson, should lay down a map of the Volga and the Caspian Sea.

A fourth expedition,[2] under the Company's agent, Arthur Edwards, set out from Yaroslav with a shipful of goods in July 1568, and, having followed the usual course of the Volga and Caspian Sea, proceeded by the help of camels to Shamaka, which they reached on the 1st of September. Edwards, with a part of his company, then advanced to Casbin, where he had

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i, p. 397; and "England and Russia", by Dr. J. Hamel, translated by J. S. Leigh; London, 8vo, 1854, p. 169; from the original work in German, intitled "Tradescant der Aeltere, 1618, in Russland," etc.; St. Petersburg, 4to., 1847. It is unfortunate that the form in which this valuable treatise was originally composed—that of introducing in notes much of the matter arranged in the Translation as a consecutive narrative,—renders it extremely confused as a history of transactions between England and Russia. Moreover, it suffers from the radical defect of an entire absence of reference to the authorities it is founded on. We are glad, however, to be able to state, that whenever we have referred to it on points we were also investigating by the aid of original documents, we have invariably found its information correct, and that we have entire confidence in its general trustworthiness. It includes only a portion of the period embraced in the present Introduction, breaking off its history of the connexion of the two countries with the year 1576.

[2] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i, p. 407 *et seqq.*

an interview with the Shah, which lasted two hours and resulted in a grant of privileges for the Company "all written in azure and gold letters."

A fifth voyage[1] was undertaken by the agents, Thomas Banister and Geoffrey Ducket. They set out from Yaroslav on the 3rd of July, 1568. On their way to Astracan they were attacked by Nagaie Tartars, whom they succeeded in driving away after a sharp conflict. They arrived at Astracan on the 20th of August, and remained there six weeks, from fear of the army of Turks; and then went on to Shamaka, where they wintered. In April they resumed their journey and reached Ardabil, where they remained for four or six months. Whilst here, Banister was sent for by the Shah, at Casbin, and was very graciously received by him. All his requests for privilege were granted, excepting only permission to transport horses through the Shah's dominions into India, respecting which the Shah hesitated. From Casbyn Banister returned to Tabreez, where he remained engaged in carrying on traffic for two years and a half, but eventually died at Arrash, not far from Shamaka; whereupon Ducket took charge of the goods and returned to Shebran, where their ship was in harbour. They set sail for Astracan; but, after beating about in the Caspian Sea for three weeks, they were attacked by Cossacks while at anchor on the flats, and, after a fight, were necessitated to surrender their ship to the marauders; who placed the Englishmen in the ship's

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i, p. 443.

boat, and suffered them to make their way to Astracan.

After a partially successful attempt to recover their goods from the pirates, by the assistance of the Russian governor at Astracan, they at length returned to Yaroslav, not, however, without further sufferings and dangers. The little they had recovered from the pirates was almost entirely lost through the crushing of their boat by the ice on the Volga. The commercial result of the expedition was truly disastrous. The value of the goods taken by the pirates of the Caspian Sea the adventurers estimated at thirty or forty thousand pounds.

It was not till the year 1579[1] that the Company ventured on another voyage to Persia, although, doubtless, an active trade was going on in produce of the country at Astracan, where the Company's agents were established. This sixth expedition was commanded by Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, and others; and they took with them letters to the Shah from Queen Elizabeth. From Rose Island their merchandise was carried in boats up the river Dwina to Vologda; whence it was conveyed in waggons to Yaroslav. The usual route of the Volga and the Caspian Sea was then followed, and, after wintering at Astracan, they reached Derbent in June 1580. The further progress of the voyage was prevented by the disturbed state of the country, then engaged in war with the Turks; but a safe return to England was effected in the autumn of the following year.

But, while pursuing these efforts in the direction

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i, p. 471.

of Persia and India, the Company was not neglectful of the rich field of enterprise laid open to them within the empire of Russia itself. Encouraged by the Czar, and protected by special privileges, they spread a network of commerce over all parts of the country. Within a few years of their introduction they had established factories at Cholmogory, Vologda, Yaroslav, Novgorod and Moscow, and had agents at Cazan and Astracan. Their custom was to send early in the year a fleet of ships, to the number usually of thirteen or fourteen, laden with English goods, to their station at Rose Island, at the mouth of the Dwina. Much of the merchandise was bartered away at Cholmogory for the furs and skins of Siberia; the rest was conveyed in boats up the river to Vologda, and thence dispersed over the kingdom. The return voyage was made by the fleet in the autumn. How wide a view was taken of the commercial prospect opened to them in this new trade, we learn from a paper drawn up by one of their agents, Michael Lock, and addressed to the Company in the year 1575; and which, from the interest of the subject, we are tempted to present entire.

Certain notes towchinge the benefit that may grow to England by the traffyke of Englishe marchaunts into Russia, through a fyrme amytie betwene both the Prences.[1]

The countrie of Russia stretchethe to the North Sea, where the sea-coast extendethe from the Lappe estwards to Dwena, Petzora, Inghra, Obi, and Samnitia, more then towe

[1] From Her Majesty's State Paper Office; Russian Correspondence, 1575.

thowsand myles in length, all in a free open course by sea from England, out of dainger of all other prences.

The naturall comodities of the countries on all those sea-coasts are in aboundance of fysshe of dyvers kynds, salte, trayne oylle, buffe hydes, cow hydes, tallow, furres of all kynds, iron, pitche, tarre, shipmasts and tymber, hempe, cables and ropes for shippes and other marchandise.

The uplande countries of Russia and Moschovia stretch-ethe exceding large and long from northe to sowthe, from est to west; more then three thowsande myles estwarde from Narve towards Catthai, and more then thre thowsande myles sowthwarde from St. Nicollas Bay towards Awstracan: wherin the cheife towens of traffyke are thies, on the west parte are Narve, Novogrod, Wobsko, Moscho; on the north parte are Vologday, Colmogro, Ustiug, Lampas [Lamposhna], Petzora, and others; on the est parte are Iroslavia [Jaroslav], Nisnovogorod, Cassan and dyvers others; on the sowth parte onely Rezan and chieflie Awstracan, whiche is the high way into Percia.

The naturall comodities of those uplande countries are thies; in the weste parte, flax, lynnen, yarne, hempe, cables and ropes for shipps, tallow, cowhydes, pavynstones and other marchandise; in the northe parts the comodities are before specified on the sea coasts; in the east parts are tallow, cow hydes, waxe, hempe, buffe hydes, furres, wool, tarre, shipmasts, timber, soap-ashes, and other marchandise; and in the sowthe parts is no traffyke of marchaundise but onely at Awstracan, whiche is there of exceding greate importaunce, for the comodities of Percia, whiche are silks of all sorts, and many druggs and other good comoudities; the rest of that way is desolaite by reason of the Tartars and Cheremissins and Crymes inhabiting uppon the rever Volga, on bothe the sydes from Rezan and Cassan sowthwards to Awstracan, which Tartars are barbarowse and fyilde dwellers and in contenewal warres and spoyles.

The naturall comodities of England are most acceptable comodities to Russia and Moschovia, whiche are wollen clothies and carseys and cottons, all redie dressed to the wearing, lead redie wrowght to laye on theare howses, tynne redye wrowght into pewtter vessell, and copper; and the moste of the same comodities are also moste acceptable to Percia.

And also many other comodities of other countries are also acceptable in those countries of Russia and Moschovia; to say clothe of golde, clothe of silke, jewells, spyces, and many other things of handy wowrk necessarye for apparrell of the bodye and for furnyture of howsolde, all whiche thinges wolde passe throwghe the hands of Englishe marchants, whereby they might gather greate welthe to serve there owne prence and countrie at there neade.

Throughe an assuryd amytie betwene the prence of England and the prence of Russia wolde be settled a trade of marchandise of soche importance for the benefyte of England as never haith beane by anye one trade; and the same ys proved thus.

The colde and rytche countries of Russia and Moschovia have great neade of the warme wollen comodities of England and of other comodities afforsaid. And England, Fraunce, Flaunders and Spayne, have greate neede of the comodities of Russia aforsayd; all the whiche heretofore have ben carryed to them and brought from them onely bye the Esterlings, through the Este Sea, by the wayes of Denmark, Swethen, Lubeck, Hamborg, Danske, Lyeffland and Polland; whereby that nation haith gotten all theare welthe. Whiche traffyke, through this amytie of bothe the prences, might be furneshed by the Englishe marchaunts onely by the northe seas, whiche wold mayneteane a greate nomber of greate shippes of servyce. Yf this trade were settled by the Northe Sea, the realme of England myght be sarved with all the comodities aforsaid of Russia and of Percia

freely, without any chek or lycens of the kings of Denmark, Swethen, Pole, Portugal, Turke, or other prence; and yf thies estarne prences wolde storme thereat, theyer staites wolde be shortlie so impovrished through the decaye of theare tolles by this alteration of the course of marchandise that they shoulde not be able to prevale; and the staits of the prences of Yngland and of Russia wolde be so enrytched, throughe the encrease of thear cowstomes and tolles by the same, that they might easely withstande there mallyce.

Also, the traffyke of Percia through Russia wolde be of exceding greate importaunce unto England, for jewells, spyces, silks, drowgges, gawlles, allam and other marchandise theare to be had at ther fountayne; all the whiche might passe saiflie, without dainger of the Turk and without knowledge of Italy and Spayne, and without any lycens of the King of Portugale.

And all thoes comodities of Russia and of Percia would passe abundantly by this Northe Sea into England, and throughe England out agayne into Flanders, Garmany, Fraunce, Spayne and Italie, throughe the hands of English men; paying a resnable cowstome to the prence for the free traunsporte of suche marchandise as, being more then wold serve the nede of England, showlde passe out frome England withowt saille theareof made; whereby the prence should have great profyt in the cowstomes and the marchaunts gett moche welthe to serve theare prence at neede, and the multitude be kepte well in work getting there lyvynge, and a nomber of shipps mayneteyned for scrvice of the realme at neede.

Towchinge the state of the prence of Russia, Evan Basilvis, nowe raigninge, yt is said by credable report of soume whiche have seane moche thereof, that he is the moste rytche prynce of treasour that lyvethe this day on earthe, except the Turk. And for soum signe therof, yt is openly knowen

that when he was in soum dainger of his enemyes the Tartars, abowte foure years past, he did remove part of his treasour frome two of his castells to another castill of more strengthe, wherewithall he did layde fouer thowsande greate carts with treasur of jewells, gold, silver and silk, and yet left the same two castles still furnyshid with his ordenary howsolde stuffe; and at the same tyme he had, as he still haith, fowr other greate castilles wherein he kepith his treasour, with greate garde and garryson of men. And for his owen parson, he haith bynne a noble warryor and greate conquerowre all his lyeffe tyme, whearby he may be thowght able to deffend his owen countrie, and to anoye his enneme, and to maynetene the amytye that he dothe promes to undertaik. And yt may well be judged that he desirethe the amytie with England rather then with anye other lands, by cawse he well understandithe the scituation thereof be free frome dainger of all other prences; the comodities and welthe thereof so apt for mutuall traffyke with his countries, the justice and peaceable governement thereof so good; and the naturall vertew of the Quenes Majestie nowe raigninge moveth him rather to joyne in amytye with hir Majestie then with anye other prence, for the saiftie of his owen parson, and cheiflie for the refuge of his children after his death, yf anye adversytie should happen to them in his owen lande, as with his owen mowth he haith said. Thiese things considered, yt may be thowght he wolde be a good help unto England againste the Kings of Denmark and Swethen and other esterne prences, yf they wolde make anye quarrel againste this realme.

And towchinge the traffyk of Percia, the rychesse thereof cannot be estemed; for yt is soche as of manye yeares haith browght to Venis, Ancona, Messina, Raguza, Genoa and other towens of Italie, the gretest parte of theire welthe, throughe theare traffyk to Tripoli and Aleppo in Syria, for rawe silke, spyces, gawlles, cotton, woolles and droggs, and

dyvers other marchandize, and to Alexandria in Egipte for the same comodytics and dyvers others; the whiche rawe silk and gawles, allame, cotton, wolles and other things, are the naturall comodities of Arrashe, Ligham (?), and Shamkey, towens in Armenya and Media, where the Inglishe merchants alredye have fetched the same three severall tyme, by the way of Awstracan and Russia into England. And the spyces and druggs are the naturall comodities of India beyonde Percia, whiche the Englishe marchaunts have fettched in Percia, also three severall tymes, by the same waye of Awstracan, before that yt coulde come to Aleppo or Trippoli to be solde to the Itallians. So that if this trade into Percia might be fyrmelie settled by the waye of Awstrican, as yt was when that Constantinopole was in hande of Cristians, and Caffa and Tana [Taman?] in hands of the Genouese and Venissians, within lesse then two hundred yeres past, yt wolde in verie shorte tyme drawe the whole course of marchandise aforsaid frome Haleppe and Tripoli, and so wolde decaye the cwstomes of the Turke in Syria, whiche is his chief staye of staite in that countrie; and also wolde overthrow the moste parte of the traffik and welthe of the Itallians aforsaid, and wolde bringe all that welthe into the hands of Englishe men in England. And to prove this laste point trew, the Itallians trading to Aleppo, and the Turks trading to Armenia, Media and Percia, forseyng this myschyef, have used greate meanes unto the Sophi or Shawgh, prence of Percia, to bannyshe Englishemen his dominions, as was justly proved by Anthonye Jenkinson and Geoffrey Duckett at theare severall being in Persia. And the same attempt have they also maed at Constantinopoli, by perswading the Turke to joyne with the Tartars to the recoverie of Awstracan frome the prence of Russia, aboute four yeres paste; who there uppon besegied that towen eight daies, with an armey of one hondrith and twentie thowsande men; but in vaene, being distressed of vyttells. And also, by this

drawinge of the traffyke of spyces to be browght from India throwgh Persia to the waye of Awstrykan, the whole traffyke of the Kinge of Portugalle nowe used to his Est India in shorte tyme wold be utterly owerthrowen.

Thiese matters being well considered, may sufficientlie prove good all that before ys declarid, besydes many other proffes that canne be mad for the varefyinge theareof.

M[ichael] Lok, 8°. Maii, 1575.

This paper was apparently drawn up for the purpose of being laid before the Queen's ministers, who were at this time on the point of despatching an ambassador to the Czar to negotiate a charter of privileges for the Company. Sanguine as its anticipations of commercial advantage must appear to us, still it is certain that at the time it was penned there was much to justify the most favourable hopes. The wars in which the Czar Ivan Vasilievich was engaged with Sweden and Poland had rendered insecure the usual route which the Russian trade with the states of Europe followed in times of peace. The always unsettled state of the frontier towards Turkey and the Crimea made the outlet by the Black Sea unavailable. Casan and Astracan had been conquered from the Tartars by Ivan, and the latter was an invaluable station for carrying on a traffic with the nations of the south. Moreover, the customary intercourse between Persia and Turkey was interrupted by hostilities between the two powers, and the valuable trade of the former country would seek an outlet in another direction.

There were other causes also which tended to

bring the Russian empire in closer connection with England at this period. The career of Ivan the Terrible had hitherto been one of successful war abroad, and the frontiers of the empire had been greatly extended under his government in the north, east, and south. But the personal vigour and judicious conduct which made his undertakings prosper in the earlier part of his reign, were unhappily not maintained throughout its progress. The passions he had controlled under the more favourable circumstances of his early life, broke out in fearful intensity when he lost the support of these good influences; and with his moral corruption came infirmity of mind and failing resolution. The conquests of his first wars were now maintained with difficulty or wrested from him; and while increased efforts were required from himself individually, and from the nation at large, to contend with enemies on every frontier, the monarch was daily growing less capable of the required exertion, and his people, alienated by his unequalled tyranny, were less willing to support his power.

Under such circumstances, the direct intercourse opened for him with a maritime power, which had in abundance those resources he found himself most in want of, was an advantage highly prized by the Czar, and fully discerned by the powers he was at war with. They saw with extreme jealousy a prince, already most formidable from the numbers of hardy troops he could bring against them, greatly adding to his strength by increased means of acquiring, not only weapons and

ammunition of war, but even the knowledge of military science itself, hitherto strange to his own barbarous people, from a closer communication with more wealthy and refined kingdoms.

So early as the year 1556, Gustavus of Sweden had sent a special embassy to Queen Mary to remonstrate against the trade carried on by English merchants with Russia at the port of St. Nicholas, and to point out the injury he suffered from the supplies of arms and military ammunition they furnished to his Muscovite enemy.[1] A few years later, in 1569, when an active trade was being carried on at Narva, then in the hands of the Russians by conquest, Sigismund, King of Poland, acutely sensitive to the consequences of this new commerce, writes in the following strain to Queen Elizabeth, in answer to complaints of the seizure of English ships by the Polish King's Danish subjects:—[2]

"We shall commaund the arrests, if any be made by our subjects (as it is unknowen to us) of merchants goods and English names to be discharged; and shall conserve the olde libertie of trafficke and all other things which shall seeme to apperteine to neighbourhood betweene us and your Majestie: so that none of the subjects of your Majesty hereafter presume to use the navigation of the Narve, forbidden by us, and full of danger, not onely to our parts, but also to the

[1] Dalin, "Geschichte von der Reichs Schweden"; ed. 1763, vol. iii, p. 360.

[2] Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. i, p. 378; a contemporary translation from the Latin. See other letters to the same effect, in Cotton MS., Nero B. ii, ff. 111, 115.

open destruction of all Christians and liberall [free] nations. The which as we have written afore, so now we write againe to your Majesty, that we know and feele of a surety the Muscovite, enemy to all liberty under the heavens, dayly to grow mightie by the increase of such things as be brought to the Narve, while not onely warres but also weapons heretofore unknowen to him, and artificers and arts be brought unto him; by meane whereof he maketh himself strong to vanquish all others. Which things, as long as this voyage to Narve is used, can not be stopped. And we perfectly know your Majesty can not be ignorant how great the cruelty is of the said enemy, of what force he is, what tyranny he useth on his subjects, and in what servile sort they be under him. We seemed hitherto to vanquish him onely in this, that he was rude of arts and ignorant of policies. If so be that this navigation of the Narve continue, what shall be unknowen to him? Therefore we that know best, and border upon him, do admonish other Christian princes in time that they do not betray their dignity, liberty and life of them and their subjects, to a most barbarous and cruell enemy; as we can no lesse do by the duty of a Christian prince. For now we do foresee, except other princes take this admonition, the Muscovite, puffed up in pride with those things that be brought to the Narve, and made more perfect in warlike affaires, with engines of warre and shippes, will make assault this way on Christendome, to slay or make bound all that shall withstand him: which God defend! With which our admonition divers princes already content themselves, and abstaine from the Narve. The others that will not abstaine from the said voyage shall be impeached by our navie and incurre the danger of losse of life, liberty, wife and children."

But it was not only as a means of waging war more effectually with his enemies that Ivan sought the

alliance of England. The further he advanced in his career of violence and folly, the more did his troubled conscience render him distrustful of his own subjects. So fearful was he of the result of an outbreak of their suppressed hate, and at the same time so apprehensive of danger from the increasing superiority of his outward enemies, that he was ever casting about for some safe harbour of refuge to fly to when the dreaded ruin should overtake him. And when contemplating this strait, it was towards England that he directed his hopes with the most confidence. To her he looked too for the supply of mechanical skill in the arts of war, which his own rude people could so imperfectly furnish him with—and for direct assistance against the Swedes and Poles, against whom he was waging almost hopeless war. England had command of sea communication with his dominions. She had wealth—the means of furnishing him with warlike ammunition and with skilled engineers—and in case of all being lost in his own empire, though his own frontiers were guarded against his escape, at the mouth of the Dwina a friendly English ship could give him shelter and convey him to at least a safe retreat from the fury of his subjects and the pursuit of his enemies.

These views of the Czar, and the eagerness of the English court to secure as far as possible a monopoly of the trade with Russia through her northern ports, led to much correspondence between the two sovereigns, prior to and at the time included in the present works; and we hope to render the interest of them the greater by following the course of these negotiations

to the time when our two authors were themselves engaged in conducting them; this being the more requisite, because Horsey's narrative is mainly concerned with his various missions between the two countries. We take up the correspondence in the year 1567, when Anthony Jenkinson, the enterprising explorer of the Persian route to India, was commissioned by the Czar Ivan to convey a special message to Queen Elizabeth, exposing his wishes with regard to an alliance between them in several distinct proposals. These contained the following clauses:—[1]

"The Emperor earnestly requireth that there may be a perpetuall frendship and kyndred betwixt the Queen's Majestie and him."

"That the Queen's Majestie and he might be to all their enemyes joyned as one; [that is] to say, her Grace to be friend to his friends and enemy to his enemyes, and so *per contra*. And that England and Russland might be in all matters as one."

He gives reason for believing that Sigismund, King of Poland, is no friend to the Queen:—

"Wherefore the Emperor requyreth the Queen's Majestie that she would be and joyne with him as one upon the Pole, and not suffer her people to have trade of marchandize with the subjects of the King of Poland."

"Further, the Emperor requireth that the Queen's Majestie would lycence masters to come unto him which can make shippes and sayle them;" and "would suffer him to

[1] Cotton MS. Nero B. xi, f. 332. Printed in the "Historica Russiæ Monimenta"; ed. A. J. Turgenevius, 4to., 1841: tom. ii, p. 366.

have out of England all kynde of artillerie and thinges necessarie for warre."

"Further, the Emperor requireth earnestly that there may be assurance made by oath and faith betwixt the Queen's Majestie and him, that yf any misfortune might fall or chance upon ether of them to go out of their countries, that it might be lawfull to ether of them to come into the others countrey for the safeguard of themselves and their lyves, and ther to lyve and have relief without any feare or danger untill such tyme as such missfortune be past, and that God hath otherwise provided, and that the one may be receaved of the other with honnour. And this to be kept most seacret."

"And of all this matter the Emperour requireth the Queen's Majestie most humbly to have answer by some of her trusty councellours, or by one of more greater estimation than myself. And whatsoever the Queen's Majestie shall requyre of him yt shall be granted and fully accomplished. The Queen's Majesties answere to be geven, the Emperour requyreth, by St. Peter's day next."

To the latter part of these proposals it was easy to return a satisfactory answer; but the Emperor's eagerness to make his new ally a party in his wars with Sweden and Poland, by a treaty offensive and defensive, was met with a necessary reserve by Elizabeth. Successive envoys, bearing her Majesty's letters to the impatient monarch, arrived at intervals during the three following years; but none bore in his commission instructions to satisfy Ivan's desire on this essential point. While the Russian sovereign was intent on strengthening his military force against his enemies by the assistance of the Queen, her policy was confined to the pacific object of securing to the

merchants trading with Russia the exclusive privileges already granted them. This monopoly indeed, sturdily contended for by the Company, was a pregnant cause of altercation between the two courts, and of hindrance to the peaceful working of the newly established commerce.

At this particular period, the apprehensions of the Company were peculiarly excited by the efforts of merchants, not of their society, to encroach on their cherished privileges. The taking of Narva in 1558 gave a pretext for trading direct with Russia without actually infringing, as these interlopers maintained, on the exclusive rights of the Company; since, Narva not having been Russian territory at the time of the grant of their privileges, they could be entitled to no right of exclusion of rival traders at that port.[1] Suits were instituted at home against these dangerous competitors; and the Company succeeded in a recognition of their exclusive right of trade to Narva by an act of Parliament passed in 1566. But the battle had to be fought not only under the eye of a favouring court and an obedient legislature. Small was the efficacy of charters and acts of Parliament, while infringers of one and the other were suffered by the Russian authorities to carry on their illegal traffic; and the constant subject of royal missions from England at this period is the monotonous complaint to the Czar of the aggrieved Company, of harbour given to the "lewd" merchants who so

1 Lansdowne MS. xvi, art. 20; Cotton MS. Nero B. viii, f. 7 b.

thwarted the purpose of their charter. In the autumn of 1567, a messenger of the Company conveyed a letter of complaint from the Queen to the Emperor against these interlopers at the Narva; and this mission was followed by another, in February 1568, on the same subject, demanding the apprehension of the principal offenders. What aggravated the grievance in the eyes of the Company was that the culprits were frequently servants of their own, whom they had been at the cost of sending from England as factors or clerks, and who so far broke faith with their employers as to traffic on their own account.

The imperial notions of Ivan were shocked by the constant intrusion of the squabbles of "base traders" into the communications he desired to carry on with Elizabeth. He considered it an affront to him that their interests were always the theme of her letters and the subject of her ambassador's discussions. He had been content to leave commercial affairs to follow their own course, while studying to realize political advantages from the friendly intercourse established with a powerful sovereign. The irritation he felt at finding matters of policy and of personal interest to himself entirely overlooked or coldly noticed in Elizabeth's answers to his letters, showed itself at length in a studied neglect of the envoys she despatched to him. George Middleton, who was sent in the beginning of the year 1568, with the Queen's letters to Ivan, met with a cold reception when the Emperor discovered that his secret message,

conveyed by word of mouth by Anthony Jenkinson in 1567, had drawn only compliments and fine phrases from Elizabeth, while the main purport of her despatch was still to press for favours to the Company. It was found necessary to conciliate the offended potentate by more skilful diplomacy; and Thomas Randolph, an experienced minister who had already proved his ability in the conduct of Elizabeth's crooked policy at the Scottish court, was despatched in the month of June, in the same year (1568), as ambassador. His principal instructions were to negotiate for a charter of privileges for the Company, and for the arrest of Thomas Glover, Christopher Bennet, and other Englishmen, who, in defiance of the Company and the Queen's prohibition, were trading on their own account at Narva, under protection of a special privilege from the Czar; who, moreover, as it is stated, had ventured to marry with Polish women; and who, it might be feared, unless their arrest were promptly effected, might take refuge in Poland. He was accompanied by Thomas Banister, Geoffrey Ducket, and others, commissioned to conduct an expedition into Persia, already referred to. During the interval of his first arrival in Russia and his admission to an audience, Queen Elizabeth addressed another letter to Ivan, dated the 16th of September 1568, made necessary by the disposition shewn by the Czar to refuse him admission to his presence.

In these[1] she makes mention of her having sent two previous envoys, Lawrence Manley and George

[1] Cotton MS. Nero B. xi, f. 385.

Middleton, with letters, dated on the 14th of October, 1567, and the 10th of February, 1568; but that to her astonishment they had both been insulted and treated as impostors by the Czar's officers at Narva, at the instigation of certain Englishmen there, whom they were instructed to seize as rebels to the Queen. She urges the Czar to give full credence to her present ambassador. She then proceeds to denounce by name the Englishmen before alluded to, Thomas Glover, Ralph Rutter, Christopher Bennet and others, as rebellious to her authority, and as trading dishonestly on their own account with the goods of the Company, their masters; and she prays him to suffer Randolph to take measures for bringing them to punishment. She next explains the reasons which intitle the Company to the monopoly they have always been allowed, and informs him that this has recently been secured to them by a special act of the Parliament—of which she explains the constitution. Finally she assures him that the reports spread of an intention of the Company to remove their trade from St. Nicholas to Riga and Revel are the malicious inventions of the Englishmen she before mentioned.

The slights[1] and annoyances experienced by Randolph in the execution of his mission are the subject of a special memoir which he addressed to the Privy Council on his return home. It appears from this that, "from his first arryvall at Mosco, which was the xvjth of October 1568, untill the ixth of Februarye, which daye he had presence of themperor, he was

[1] Lansdowne MS. x, art. 34.

so straightlie kepte prisonere with suche uncourtoyse usage of the sergeaunt that kepte them, as worse coulde not have byn shewed to an eniemy."

That letters sent to him for the Queen were kept from him, and only interpreted to him "by him that moste trayterouslie hath used him selfe against the Quene his soveraigne" [Rutter?].

That the letters which he had written to the Queen, and had sent by Narva, were stopt, as though they contained treason against the Emperor, and were afterwards delivered back to him open, and translated by Rutter.

He was ordered to depart immediately after taking leave of the Emperor, on the 24th of June, at Vologda, "and was threatened to have my baggage throwen owt of the dores; this ambassador himself being the messenger."

Nevertheless, the diplomatic talent of Randolph triumphed over all the obstacles opposed to his mission; and, after some delays, the commercial charter which he had been instructed to apply for in behalf of the Russia Company was granted and confirmed on the 20th of June 1569.[1] This document appears to have realized all the expectations of the Company; and we find it afterwards referred to with satisfaction when they had been obliged to apply for a new grant on the accession of another sovereign.

How far this was usual we are unaware; but in the present instance the Company were at the charge of supporting the ambassador and his suite during

[1] See a copy of the charter in Lansdowne MS. xi, art. 16.

his mission. The whole expenses appear to have amounted to £1,526 : 17.[1]

On Randolph's return home, at the end of June, 1569, he was accompanied by an ambassador from Ivan to Elizabeth, by name Andrea Grigorievitch Ssavin, who was commissioned to lay before the Queen a form of treaty, offensive and defensive, written in Russian, and to which the Queen was to be urged to affix her signature and to ratify it by an oath.[2] The original letter, in Russian, from the Czar to Elizabeth on this occasion, is preserved among the Cottonian manuscripts.[3]

The Russian ambassador, however, was obliged to be contented with a treaty in a different form from that of his master's dictation, and which, though it pledged the monarchs to amity and to mutual assistance against "common enemies," stopped short of engaging them to adopt each other's quarrels. It was in effect worded with especial caution to avoid implicating the Queen in the Russian prince's hostilities with his northern neighbours. It was dated in May 1570.[4]

To the letter which Elizabeth addressed to the Czar, on the return of his ambassador, she adds a secret despatch, to which only her most secret council are privy, and witnessed by them, engaging herself "in case at anie time it so mishappe that you lord our brother, emperour and great duke, bee by

[1] See Lansdowne MS. xi, artt. 34 and 37.

[2] Cotton MS. Nero B. xi, f. 335. [3] Ibid., f. 316.

[4] See copy in Cotton MS. Nero B. xi, f. 345.

any casuall chaunce, either of secrite conspiracie or outward hostillitie, driven to change your countries, and shall like to repaire into our kingdome and dominions, with the noble empresse your wife and your deare children the princes, wee shall with such honors and curtesies receive and intreate your highnes then, as shall become so great a prince."[1]

She guarantees him, moreover, freedom of religion, a place in her kingdom to dwell in "on your own charges," and liberty to depart at pleasure.

It was at this period, on the return of the Russian ambassador Ssavin to his own country, that the unhappy Dr. Eliseus Bomel, whose fate is recorded by Horsey, obtained his introduction to Russia. Although born at Wesel in Westphalia, he had been educated in England. Brought up to the practice of medicine, he diverged to the profession of astrology, in which science he appears to have been regarded as a proficient. His mysterious proceedings led to his imprisonment by the archbishop of Canterbury, Parker; but he obtained his release on pleading an invitation of the Russian minister to enter into the Czar's service. In an evil hour he set out on his journey to Russia, where, on his arrival, he speedily succeeded in ingratiating himself with Ivan; and, as we are told by Horsey, misused his interest with the Czar to incite him to excesses of all kinds towards his subjects, and to foolish projects of matrimony with Queen Elizabeth herself.[2] His story is a mere epi-

[1] Cotton MS. Nero B. xi, p. 341.

[2] Horsey's Travels, p. 173.

sode in the history of the transactions between the two countries, and we refer to it only because Horsey was an eye-witness of his inhuman punishment by the savage tyrant whom he had ventured to tamper with.[1]

The return of his ambassador, Andrea Ssavin, from the English court with terms of alliance less stringent than the form of league proposed by the Czar himself, awakened afresh the displeasure of Ivan; and this was further aggravated by complaints on the part of Ssavin of personal neglect. Irritated by the failure of his projects, and offended by the preference shown by the English court of the concerns of the Company to his own wishes and interests, he at once withdrew the privileges lately granted to the Company, and despatched letters to the Queen, dated the 24th of October, 1570, reviewing the progress of intercourse between the two countries, complaining of her postponement of affairs of state to mere matters of commerce, and even taunting her with being under the influence of "boors and merchants".[2] Previous to the arrival of these letters, the Company, alarmed by the suspension of their privileges, had already induced Elizabeth to send another envoy, Robert Best, to the indignant Czar. Her letter was dated the 24th of January, 1571.[3] But fearful events were passing at this period in the Czar's own dominions. The country was simultaneously afflicted by both famine and pestilence, and

[1] Horsey, Travels, p. 187. [2] Hamel, p. 207.
[3] Hamel, p. 133.

to these scourges was added an invasion of the Crim Tartars in an immense horde, under the leadership of their khan, Dewlet Geray, who, laying siege to Moscow, succeeded in setting it on flames and reducing the whole city to ashes. In the midst of these horrors Elizabeth's letters were left unanswered; and eager to recover, in behalf of her merchants, the good will of the offended Czar, she selected Anthony Jenkinson,—by whom he had first made his secret overtures to her, and whom he had expressly required to be the bearer of her answer to them,—as envoy to deliver further letters, and with powers to treat personally with the Czar.

Jenkinson landed at Rose Island on the 26th of July, 1571, and nothing could have been more unpromising than the aspect of things at his arrival. The recent disasters of the country had rendered all classes to the utmost degree discontented, exasperated against their own government, and unequal to engaging in commercial business.

The Czar so much resented the slight received from Elizabeth, by her evasion of his proposals of a close offensive and defensive league, that he had entirely withdrawn his countenance from her subjects. The Company's affairs were in a lamentable plight. Their factory had been consumed in the terrible conflagration of the capital. Five-and-twenty of their servants had perished in its ruins, and their loss by that disaster alone was estimated by their agent at ten thousand roubles. Moreover the Czar appears to have considered Jenkinson personally to

blame in not having returned earlier with an answer to his proposals to Elizabeth, according to his instructions.

On landing at Rose Island, Jenkinson met with Nicholas Proctor, the Company's agent, who had recently arrived from Moscow, and who warned him of his danger in approaching the incensed monarch. He accordingly despatched a messenger to the Czar to inquire his pleasure, while he himself proceeded to Cholmogory, to await his return. Here he remained four months without tidings of the fate of his messenger; and then despatched a second envoy, who also failed to return or to report his success. During this prolonged detention at Cholmogory, he received none of the honors due to his character of an ambassador, and suffered, besides, much from the incivilities of the governor of the place and the ill-will of the people generally, who even refused to sell provisions for his household.[1] At length he received the Czar's orders to approach him, and, after many delays, was admitted to an audience on the 20th of March, 1572. Ivan received him in state, and, after commanding his attendants to withdraw, proceeded in a very solemn manner to explain the causes of his displeasure, in the following address:—

"Anthony, the last time thou wast with us heere, wee did commit unto thee our trustie and secret message, to be declared unto the Queenes Majestie herself, thy mistresse, at

[1] See the account of his mission in Lansdowne MS. c., f. 102; also Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. i, p. 452.

thy comming home, and did expect thy comming unto us againe at the time wee appointed, with a full answere of the same from her Highnesse. And, in the meane time, there came unto us at severall times three messengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narve, about the merchants affaires. To whom wee sent our messenger to knowe whether thou, Anthony, were returned home in safetie, and when thou shouldest returne unto us againe. But those messengers could tell us nothing, and did miscall and abuse with evil words both our messenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And, understanding that the said Goodman had letters about him, wee caused him to be searched; with whom were found many letters, wherin was written much against our princely state, and that in our empire were many unlawful things done; whereat wee were much grieved, and would suffer none of those rude messengers to have access unto us. And shortly after, wee were informed that one Thomas Randolfe was come into our dominions by the way of Dwina, ambassadour from the Queene; and wee sent a gentleman to meete and conduct him to our citie of Mosco; at which time we looked that thou shouldest have returned unto us againe. And the said Thomas being arrived at our said citie, wee sent unto him divers times that hee should come and conferre with our Counseill, whereby we might understand the cause of his comming, looking for answere of those our princely affaires committed unto thee. But hee refused to come to our said Counsell: wherefore, and for that our said citie was visited with plague, the said Thomas was the longer kept from our presence. Which being ceased, foorthwith wee gave him accesse and audience; but all his talke with us was about merchant affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that merchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the stay of our princely treasures. But first princes affaires are to be esta-

blished, and then merchants. After this, the said Thomas Randolfe was with us at our citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our princely affaires; whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Majestie and us might bee established for ever; and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your ambassadour and us; and thereupon wee sent our ambassadour into England with him to ende the same. But our ambassadour returned unto us againe, without finishing our said affaires, contrary to our expectation and the agreement betwixt us and your said ambassadour."

To this harangue Jenkinson answers, that he delivered the secret message word for word to the Queen; that Randolph was commissioned to treat concerning that, as well as the merchants' affairs; that the reason he did not accompany him was that he was employed on the seas against the Queen's enemies. That Randolph kept to his instructions in not treating with the Czar's councillors, as contrary to usage in embassies of weight. That Randolph proved in the presence of the Czar's ambassador that he had never pledged the Queen to any conditions to the Czar's councillors, who must have misrepresented matters to him.

That the Queen sent her letters by the Czar's ambassador, Ssavin; but, finding that Ivan is still dissatisfied, and besides entertains displeasure against the Company, she has now sent Jenkinson himself. He attributes the Czar's displeasure to the untrue reports of his late ambassador in England (Ssavin), and of divers persons, Rutter and others, rebels of her majesty in this country; and proceeds to justify the

conduct of the Company. The Czar's wrath was entirely allayed by these explanations, and, saying that he should be unable at present to give him immediate answers to his letters, he directed him to depart to Tver. Jenkinson arrived at Tver on the 20th of March, and continued there till the 8th of May following. He was then sent for to come to the Czar at Staritza, where he had an interview with the chief secretary, and delivered to him articles, sixteen in number, demanded in behalf of the Company.

Of these one had reference to Bannister and Ducket in Persia, and was to request that ships should be sent down the Volga and across the Caspian Sea to fetch them home, and also to cause them to be protected from the Crim-Tartars and other enemies. Others contained complaints against Rutter and his confederates. Liberty was demanded for English artificers in the Czar's service to return home. Permission was required for sale of certain ship-loads of corn sent out by the Company.

On the 13th of May, Jenkinson had another audience of the Czar sitting in state, who again addressed him at length, saying, that he was satisfied that he had truly delivered the secret message intrusted to him, though he had thought to the contrary. That he had been discontented in not receiving complete answer from the Queen to his letters, and by a person of dignity; and that from the misconduct of the merchants, he had taken from them their privileges. That now, having received the Queen's letters and him as ambassador, he is "fully satisfied."

"And for that our princely and secret affaires wer not fynished to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, wee do nowe leave of all those matters and set them aside for this time, bycause our minde is nowe otherwise chaunged, and will not ymportunate our Sister any further, but hereafter, when occasion shall move us for the lyke, wee will then talke of those matters."

He promised to forget his displeasure to the Company, and to restore them their privileges. He refused to give the names of the merchants who had offended him.

Jenkinson received answers to the articles he had laid before the council, and on the 14th of May set out on his return. He arrived in England on the 10th of September.

The reception of Anthony Jenkinson by the Czar, and the answer he brought back to Elizabeth's letters, were so entirely satisfactory, that the ensuing correspondence between the sovereigns assumed a very pacific character. The obnoxious merchants, Rutter, Glover and others, who had before procured special privilege to trade on their own account in the Russian dominions, and had been for long the objects of the Company's jealousy and ceaseless complaints, were sent out of the kingdom; and, except the disordered state of the country consequent upon hostilities with the Poles and Swedes, nothing interrupted the commercial proceedings which the English court so watchfully guarded over.

Daniel Sylvester, the interpreter, conveyed from England the Queen's answer, dated the 20th of Octo-

ber, 1572, to Ivan's letters delivered to her by Jenkinson, on his return, and in which she expressed herself as entirely satisfied with the Czar's concessions.

Ivan's letters, dated the 15th of April 1573, brought by Sylvester, and Elizabeth's reply, of the 28th of July, in the same year, contained no new matter of discussion, except a complaint by the latter that the Company's property at Novgorod had been confiscated, because certain Englishmen, as it was alleged, had taken arms against the Czar, in the service of the king of Sweden; and an explanation that the presumed Englishmen were probably Scotchmen.[1]

Further letters were addressed by Elizabeth to the Czar on the 27th of October, 1573, and the 26th of May, 1574.[2] Those of the earlier date were sent by Daniel Sylvester, and contained an application for compensation to the Company for losses arising from the plunder by the Tartars of a caravan, conducted by Geoffrey Ducket,[3] on its way from Persia by the Caspian Sea; and assurances of the future activity of the Company in prosecuting their traffic with his dominions, now that the interlopers had been removed.

But Ivan's reply, dated the 20th of August, 1574, and sent by Silvester, re-opened the old subject of complaint, and which he had himself declared had been settled to his contentment by Jenkinson's mission in 1571; viz., the neglect of the secret proposals sent

[1] Hamel, p. 221. [2] Ibid., p. 222.
[3] Letter in State Paper Office.

by him through Jenkinson in 1567; with additional charges of ill-conduct on the part of several English merchants in Russia; also of certain of the Queen's subjects having served against him under the King of Sweden.

Elizabeth's answer to these angry remonstrances, is learnt from her instructions to her envoy, Sylvester, dated on the 9th of May, 1575, who was directed to offer explanations in a personal interview.[1] After reference to the two latter articles of complaint (in regard to the second of which she again explains, that the supposed Englishmen serving the King of Sweden were, in fact, Scotchmen, who, to the number of 4,000, had taken pay in his service), she directs him in respect to the "message of great secreacie sent unto us longe since by our servant, Anthonie Jenkinson, by whom about three yeares past we returned our answere made unto him", in the first instance, to "declare to his owne person and to noe other that which we have by worde of mouth delivered unto you"; and if, not contented with that, the Czar shall wish to send over a special messenger to require the Queen's confirmation by oath of the league already agreed to between them, he is to endeavour to dissuade him from such purpose; or at least to induce him to send such an envoy as shall not attract the attention of the ministers of foreign powers at her court.

The answer to be delivered by word of mouth is

[1] Lansdowne MS. clv., f. 131; Cotton MS. Nero B. xi, f. 393; and Sloane MS. 2442, p. 201.

set down at the end of the Instructions, and is in the following words:—[1]

"Whereas we conceave the secret message you delivered unto us from the Emperor to stande in two pointes, the one that he should mislike our refusall to confirme by oath the league agreed on at the tyme of his ambassadur's being here, as also that it was not subscribed by our counsellors hands; the other, that he founde it strange that we should make some scruple to require like assurance of refuge at his handes, as we have upon his request made unto us for the same graunted unto him.—For the first, you shall declare unto him, though we had well hoped that he had conceaved so honorablie of us that noe oath could have drawen us to a more sinceare performance of our promise, delivered in writing signed with our hand, than the great respect we beare to the maintenance of our princelie worde, as in honor we are bounde, yet the onlie and chief cause why we yealded not to the confirmation of the same by oath grewe of the great respect we had to have the contents of the said league kept secreat; a thing no lesse earnestlie by him required than judged by us of it self most necessarie, considering of what importance it was towardes him; which with noe possibilitie could have bene done if the said confirmation by oath should have bene performed with that solemnitie that is usuall in that behalf. For the leagues which we confirme by oath doe ordinarilie passe our great seale; which cannot be done, but that the same must runne through the handes of so greate a nomber of our ministers as in no possibilitie they can be kept secret.

"And as touching his misliking that the league was not signed by our Counsell, you may tell him that such things as are signed by our self ar never signed by our Counsell; for that it is held a kinde of abasement of the state and qualitie we hold to have any joyned with us in that behalf.

[1] Lansdowne MS. clv., f. 134.

"For the other pointe, touching a request to be made by us unto him for assurance of refuge in case of necessitie, you shall declare unto him that if our subjectes should never so little conceive that we grewe into any doupt or suspition of any change or alteration in them towardes us (as we knowe they would by [our] consenting to the making of such a request), it would breede so dangerous a misliking in them towards us, as might put us in perill of our estate. Which thinge we knowe our good brother, in respect of the great good will he protesteth to have towards us, would be loath to draw us into. And therefore we hope he will accept in good parte this our aunswere touching the said pointe."

Sylvester had his reception by the Czar on the 29th of November following, and we are in possession of a copy of his report of the monarch's speech to him on the occasion.[1] He again complained of having received no satisfactory answer to the secret message sent by Anthony Jenkinson. Randolph's embassy "chiefly tended for the establishing of marchants",—

"But as for our affayres whear aboute we thought him to have bene sente, they were nothinge spoken of. Wheare at we marvelynge yett graunted all requests; thinkinge to have found the like liberalyte towardes us. For the occasion whey we pretended those proccedings with our sister was, that we highlye forsawe the varyable and daungerous estate of princes, and that as well as the meanest they are subject unto chaunge. Which caused us to suspect oure owne magnificence, and that which nowe inded ys chaunced unto us. For we have resygned the estate of our government, which heathertoo hath bene so royally maynteyned, into the handes of a straunger, whoe is nothinge alyed unto us, our lande or crowne. The occasion whereof is the perverse and evill

[1] Cotton MS. Nero B. viii, f. 18 b.

dealinge of our subjects, who mourmour and repine at us; forgettinge loyall obedience they practice againste our person. The which to prevent we have gyvene them over unto another prince to governe them, but have reserved in our custodye all the treasure of the lande withe sufficient trayne and place, for their and our relyefe. And for these and such like occasions did we moshone [motion?] thos proceedings with our syster. And to confyrme the same we sent our messenger, Andreas Savine. But our purpose was prevented by practice of traytours, which interpreted our meanynge to thear pleasure and misse-enformed our systar of us; whos aunswere by him were so contrarye to our purpose as nothing might be more. For trulye our pretence was to have lyncked us togeather in suche fyrme amyte, and thearin so enviolable to have consisted, as nothinge shoolde empayre the same," etc.

In this interesting document we find the tyrant avowing, as the motive of his wish to secure a place of refuge in a foreign and distant kingdom, his distrust of the loyalty of his own subjects. And surely no clearer revelation could be offered us of the terrors to which he was a prey, than this confession that for a period of at least eight years (for so long was it since he had first disclosed to Elizabeth, through her envoy Anthony Jenkinson, his project of seeking shelter at some future time in her kingdom) his conscience had warned him of the hate of his people, and that in dread of an outbreak of their fury, he had been restlessly seeking an asylum among strangers. Although assured by Elizabeth of an honourable and safe reception in her dominions, it was only in unison with the suspiciousness of conscious unworthiness that

he should discredit her promises. To make him feel more secure of her sympathy, he wished to receive similar proposals from herself; and we have his admission of this in a second audience which he granted to Sylvester, to declare his opinion on the letters and messages, of which Sylvester was the bearer, from Elizabeth.

The paper is also valuable as furnishing confirmation and supplying the date of that strange act of the tyrant,—known from the report of strangers, but scarcely alluded to by native historians of the time,—his temporary abdication of his throne, in favour of the Tartar prince Ssaim Bulat, ex-Tsar of Kassimof, baptized under the name of Simeon.[1] This event is mentioned by both Fletcher (p. 56), and Horsey (p. 168). The former regards it as a trick to extract money from his subjects, by means which he points out. The latter assigns a reason for it in the discontents of the people, arising from the Czar's rapacious exactions in the form of loans and taxes.

The second audience to which Sylvester was admitted was on the 29th of January, 1576. The report of his interview was transmitted to his government, and a copy of it is preserved in the manuscript already quoted.[2] Ivan speaks much to the same effect as on the first occasion. He finds the message brought by Sylvester "as ineffectual as others before this," and adds—

[1] Hamel, p. 224; Karamsin, Histoire de l'Empire de Russie; Paris, 1823; vol. ix, p. 319.

[2] Cotton MS. Nero B. viii, f. 19 b.

"That neather her answeares by our messenger Savine, nor the ambassadge of Anthony [Jenkinson], nor this messadge of thyne, ar to our contentment, nor importe that effecte of frendshipp that we aspect from our systar. Interpretinge thereby a kynde of haughtynes in our systar, moved tharto by thabasynge of ourselfe towardes her, in that we purpose that with her which she nothinge lesse accompteth of. By which occasion we are pretended in the like league with themperour Maximillian, our holy and good brother. For who or what prince woulde willingly or without occation leave or forsake his dignity or land to enthrall hym under the benivolence of a strange and unknowne prince? Or who, enforside to forsake his lande and dignite will not in that distres of adverstie gently submit himselfe to the frendly pleasure of the prince or potentate by whome he ys refuged? Even so by our self, that, yf contrary to our expectacion we should at any time be enforced out of our empire, and then succoryd by England or others, must in reason yealde us loyaull unto the aughtoryty of the protectour."

Sylvester begs him to mention more explicitly the occasion of his dissatisfaction, and the Czar answers:

"Our mislyke consisteth in the scruple aunsweres of our systar, and in the doubtes and acceptions [exceptions?] contayned in them; as herein, that she maketh dayntye to requier the like of us as our requeste is to have of her, according to the symple and playne meanynge of our demaunds; the coppyes whereof were brought by Savine our messenger in the Italyan and Lateyne tounges."

Meaning doubtless to express his disappointment that Queen Elizabeth had not made of him the same request for refuge in his dominions as he had made for an asylum in hers.

The Czar proceeds to point out the protection and privileges he has given to English merchants, and to threaten to transfer the same to the Venetians and Germans. He makes further allusion to the resignation of his crown, stating that he reserved the power of resuming it; and gives him a message to Elizabeth, which he enjoins him to commit to his memory, in these words: —

"Yf our systar hadd so frendlye delte with us in the accomplishinge of thes affayres as we thaught she woulde, trewly our whole countrye of Russia hadd bene as much at her pleasure as England ys, as frelye to have sent or commaunded anye thing thence as out of her owne treasurye or wardrope. Fynally, the whole dominion had bene at her comaundement, as notwithstanding the same ys unto the merchaunts, who are as free as in England to ryde and goe when and whether they shall have occasion: the which to none but unto them ys adhibetyd. But trulye our systar maketh to scruple to accomplishe our request, which unto us seme bothe resonable and alsoe commodius for our Majestyes. To conclude, we have shewed more favour then [than] sownde frendshippe; for that nothinge that since the first hath bene pretended betwext us that ar in aney thinge to our expectment accomplished, not onely in thes hey matters but in all other thinges which to furnishe our wante we have sent for, and allwayes served with contraryes; whearfore we have juste occasion to repyne."

Sylvester returned to England immediately after this interview. He was again despatched by Elizabeth, with fresh letters to the Czar, in the summer of the same year 1576. But he was not destined to fulfil his mission. He had reached Colmogory, and

was making preparations for continuing his journey, when he was struck by lightning in the English Factory. His papers, and the Queen's letter to the Czar, were destroyed by the fire which consumed the Factory itself.[1]

According to Horsey's own account, this awful end of the Queen's envoy was the occasion of his being himself honoured with a commission from the Russian Emperor. He had gone out from England as a clerk in the service of the Company, and during a residence of some years in the country, had become qualified to speak and read its language. What other means he may have had of attracting the attention of the Russian court he does not inform us; but, on Sylvester's death, the want was felt by the Czar of an agent to whom he could confide a mission to the English court, and his choice fell on Horsey, who describes his introduction to Ivan in these words:—

"The Emperour was much amassed when he heard of it [the death of Sylvester], saieng, 'Gods will be donn!'—but raged and was in desperatt case; his enymies besettinge and besiegginge three partes of his countrye, the Poll, Sweathen and the Crime; King Stephanus Batur threatninge he would vissett him at his great cittie Musquo shorttly. He made preparacion accordingly, only douptinge of som want of powder, salt-peter, lead and brimston, and knew not howe to be furnished therof, the Narve shutt up, but owt of England. The difficult was how he should convey and send his letters to the Queen; his countries invironed and passages shutt up. Sent for me and told me he had a message

[1] Horsey, p. 184.

of honnor, weight and secreæcie, to imploie me in, to the Quens Majesty of England, perceavinge I had ateyned to the familliar phrase of his language, the Pollishe and Dutch tongs."

A lengthened conversation ensued, in which the Czar questioned him respecting the royal navy of England, and afterwards desired him to communicate his description of it in writing to his private secretary. At the end he was enjoined to make himself ready, to be silent and secret, and to attend till the despatch was prepared which he was desired to convey to England. When the letters were ready, the Czar himself delivered them to him, concealed in a false side of a wooden bottle of brandy, "not worth three pence", to be hung under the horse's mane; and dismist him with the following injunction.

"I forbare to tell you of some secreats of my pleasur, for fearinge, thow passinge thorow my enymies countries now in combustion, thow fall into their hands, [and] mai be inforced to discover that I would not have knowen. What thow shalt saye to Quen Elizabeth, my lovinge sister, the bottel thow cariest with the shall declare unto the, when thow comst in saffe place to make it open. In the meane and alwaies be thow trusty and faithfull, and thy reward shalbe my goodnes and grace from me hereafter."[1]

It was a service of some peril which Horsey had undertaken,—to be the bearer of letters from the Russian Emperor through countries at open war with him; and he narrates the dangers it led him into. The route he took was by Tver, Novgorod, Pskov,

[1] Ibid., p. 189.

and Neuhaus. This part of the journey—a distance of six hundred miles, as he informs us—was performed in a sledge, and in the space of three days. He was attended by a gentleman of rank and twenty servants; who here took their leaves. At Neuhaus, Horsey was taken before the lieutenant of the castle, and examined; but he feigned himself a fugitive from the Muscovite country, and after three days detention was allowed to proceed. Having passed through Livonia he was again stopped in the island of Oesel, and carried to Arensburg, where he was locked up in filthy quarters as a spy; but his good fortune in being able to give tidings to the governor of his daughter, a captive in Moscow, and for whom he had done offices of kindness, procured him his release and courteous treatment. He next records his arrival at Pilten; whence he proceeded through Courland to Könisberg and Dantzic. Here he was received with much honour by the authorities; and several merchants, who had been ransomed by him out of captivity in Russia, hastened to thank him for his humanity. From Dantzic his route lay through Pomerania to Hamburgh, where he was again greeted with the warmest expressions of gratitude from those he had been instrumental in redeeming from captivity. He concludes the account of his journey by telling us, that on arriving in England he opened the aqua-vitæ bottle—"tooke out and sweetened the Emperors letter and directions, as well as I could; but yet the Queen smelt the savier of the aqua-vita when I delivered them unto her Majesty."

Horsey was favourably received by the Queen, and sworn esquire of her body. The Muscovy Company were commanded to provide the articles for which the Czar had sent his commission ; and Horsey was, in the summer of 1581, despatched back to Russia with a supply of copper, lead, powder, salt-petre, brimstone and other things, to the value of nine thousand pounds; all which he safely delivered, and received immediate payment from the Czar. He states that he sailed in company with a fleet of thirteen ships; and that in the voyage they were encountered by Danish ships, off the North Cape, whom they worsted. There was at the time no declared war between the two countries, and probably these assaults by the Danes were in their nature piratical, and would not be recognized by their government. On the contrary, it was the mutual interest of the two kingdoms to maintain a close alliance, as supporters of the Protestant cause, then hard pressed in the Netherlands and France. But the Danish sovereign was intensely jealous of the new trade which the English merchants had established with Russia, and more particularly apprehensive that, by their ceasing to frequent Narva and fixing their trade at St. Nicholas, his revenue from the Sound dues would suffer diminution. At this time the English trade to St. Nicholas was not formally recognized by Denmark. It was not till June in 1582 that Frederick III, by his patent, secured to the Company free passage to the Russian coasts, with liberty of refuge in any of her ports in stress of weather ; on condition

of their paying a yearly sum in lieu of Sound dues;[1] and with the special proviso of their not furnishing his enemies with warlike stores. In the instructions[2] to Lord Willoughby, who was commissioned by Elizabeth, in 1582, to carry the Garter to the Danish king, elected a member of the order two years previous, one of the clauses refers to explanation to be given on the subject of her merchant ships carrying armaments, which he was to represent as an ordinary precaution against attacks by pirates.

It is stated by Horsey,[3] that as early as the year 1567 the project of a marriage with an English lady, —and that, indeed, the fastidious Queen herself,— was discussed by the Czar Ivan with the ill-starred adventurer, Dr. Bomel; and it is conjectured by Dr. Hamel, that a proposition for a union with the Queen was the subject of the secret message intrusted by the Czar to Jenkinson in the year 1567.[4] Of this, however, we have found no proof in the papers relating to Jenkinson's mission; and the direct mention of the actual nature of the secret message already quoted, seems to disprove it altogether. The Czar, however, was violently possessed with a fancy for an English wife, and we now come to the fact of his formal proposal for the hand of a noble lady, a kinswoman of the Queen.

At the request of Ivan, physicians and surgeons

[1] Nero B. iii, f. 247.
[2] Ibid., f. 244.
[3] Horsey's Travels, p. 173.
[4] England and Russia, p. 179.

had been sent out from England by Elizabeth in the earlier part of the year 1581; and, among the number, one Dr. Robert Jacob, whom she represented to the Czar as especially prized by herself for skill in his profession. This physician was graciously received by Ivan, and was quickly installed in his confidence; so much at least may be inferred, from his imparting to him the secret of his desire to marry an English wife, and consulting him on the direction of his choice. The question seems to have no way startled the experienced courtier, although he must have been aware that the Czar had already been wedded to six wives, the last of whom still survived, and at the time gave promise of making him again a father. Dr. Jacob replied that he knew of only one such lady—the Lady Mary Hastings, thirty years of age, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, and niece of the Queen herself, on the side of her mother. Satisfied by the description of the proposed bride, given by Jacob, who probably considered it a politic stroke to strengthen the Czar's attachment to England by such a connexion, and acting with his customary impetuosity, Ivan despatched an ambassador, Theodore Andreievitch Pissemsky, to England, with the following instructions[1]:—

1. To negotiate a close alliance between the two countries.

2. To communicate to Queen Elizabeth, in a private audience, his master's project of a marriage with

[1] Karamsin, vol. ix, p. 533.

Lady Mary Hastings; to demand an interview with the lady; and her portrait, painted on wood or paper.

3. To inquire Lady Mary's age; to notice if she were of good height, of *embonpoint* and fair complexion.

4. To obtain information of her relationship with the Queen; her father's rank; and the number of her brothers and sisters. In case of the Queen's objecting that the Czar was already married; to answer, that was true, but that his wife was neither a king's daughter, nor a princess of a royal family; that she was unpleasing to him, and he would repudiate her in favour of the Queen's niece.

5. To state that Lady Mary would be required to embrace the Greek form of faith; that the Czarovitch Fedor would remain heir to the Russian empire, but that the male progeny of the English princess would receive special provinces or apanages. And, finally, that these conditions could not be altered; but that, if the Queen declined to subscribe them, the ambassador was to return home.

Pissemsky arrived in England on the 16th of September, 1582; met with much flattering attention at court, but made slow progress in the business of his mission. His first conference with the English ministers was on the 18th of December. The terms of the proposed alliance were the same as his master had of old insisted on—to make common cause in peace and war; and, if Elizabeth were unable to furnish assistance to the Czar in troops to face his enemies, she should supply him with subsidies of money and military stores. The English merchants were to

be allowed the exclusive commerce of the Dwina, but should submit to the moderate imposts to which they would be subject in common with the subjects of other foreign countries.

On the 18th of January following, Elizabeth received the ambassador to a private audience, alone in her chamber. She objected to the Czar's selection of a bride, as wanting in beauty of person; but, on Pissemsky's insisting, consented to his having an interview with her, and discussed the conditions of the proposed marriage. She opposed, however, the present indulgence of his eagerness to see Lady Mary, on the ground of her being only of late recovered from an attack of small-pox; and pleaded the consequent blemishes of her features as excuse for not allowing the painting of her portrait.

During these delays, news arrived in England of the delivery of the actual Czarina of a son—the ill-starred Demetrius. Pissemsky was not disconcerted by these tidings. He refused to give credence to them, treating them as the malicious invention of opponents of the English alliance. At length, on the 18th of May, the ambassador was allowed an interview with Lady Mary Hastings, who was presented to him, in a wide tent, in the garden of Sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor, in order that he might judge of her features and complexion in the clear light of day. Horsey's account of this singular interview is in the following terms:[1]—

"Her Majesty caused that lady to be atended on with

[1] Travels, p. 196.

divers great ladies and maieds of honnor and yonge noblemen, the nomber of each apointed, to be seen by the said Ambassador in Yorke House garden. She put on a staetly countenance accordinglie. The Ambassador, atended with divers other noblemen and others, was brought before her Ladyship; cast down his countenance; fell prostrate to her feett, rose, ranne backe from her, his face still towards her; she and the rest admiringe at his manner. Said by an interpreter yt did suffice him to behold the angell he hoped should be his master's espouse; commended her angellicall countenance, state and admirable beauty. She after was called by her famillier frends in court the Emporis of Muscovia."

Notwithstanding these raptures, the courtly Russian contrived to send a very matter of fact description of the lady to his master; his report, though on the whole favourable to her charms, was somewhat guarded in its expressions. We are told that Lady Mary Hastings herself was at the first pleased with the proposed marriage; but that she was subsequently frightened from it by representations of the ferocious character of her intended husband; and at last succeeded without difficulty in persuading the Queen to save her from the proposed honour.

Pissemsky was accompanied in his return to his own country by Sir Jerome Bowes, as ambassador from Elizabeth, commissioned to settle definitively all the affairs in discussion between the two sovereigns. The instructions which Bowes took with him on this occasion disclose the views of the English court in respect to the proposed treaty with its Russian ally.[1]

[1] Cotton. MS. Nero B. viii, f. 29; and State Paper Office.

He was to apologize for not setting down the treaty in the form presented by the Czar; and to answer, in respect to the offer of a league offensive and defensive, that the Queen thought it "requisite both in Christianity and by the law of nations and common reason, not to profess enmity or enter into effects of hostility against any prince or potentate without warning first given to the party so procuring enmity to desiste from his wrong-doing or cause-giving of hostility."

He was to advance, as the reason for asking exclusive privileges for the Russian Company in preference to throwing open the commerce to all English subjects equally, the great expenses incurred by the Company in laying open the trade.

In regard to the secret message made through Pissemsky, he was to persuade the Czar to abandon his object of marriage with Lady Mary Hastings, on the ground of the lady's ill-health, her unfitness for so long a journey, and the reluctance of her family to so complete a separation from her.

"As to the other motion delivered us in like secrett manner by the Interpreter, as heretofore it hath bene by some of our owne ministers sent unto him uppon occasion, touching his selfe repaire hether unto our dominions,—he shall be welcome," etc.

The remainder of the Instructions, together with a supplementary clause added on the 19th of June, refer to a proposed mediation with the King of Sweden for the purpose of an immediate suspension of arms and eventual treaty of peace, Elizabeth offer-

ing to act as arbitrator. They conclude with the following notable axiom—to induce the Czar to certain concessions in the form of negotiating—that "a deare disadvantagable peace is more worth than an advantagable and victorious warre, all things duely considered."

Sir Jerome Bowes set out on his journey in company with the returning Russian ambassador Pissemsky, and attended by a train of forty persons. He arrived at Rose Island on the 23rd of July, 1583; and we are in possession of his own account of his mission.[1] He prepares us for the opposition he was to encounter at court by the following statement.

"The Dutch merchants had intruded themselves to trade into those countreys, notwithstanding a privilege of the sole trade thither was long before granted to the English merchants. These Dutchmen had already so handled the matter, as they had by chargeable means wonne three of the chiefest counsellors of the Emperour to be their assured friends, namely, Mekita Romanovich, Bodan Belskoy and Andrew Shalkan the chancellor: for, besides dayly gifts that they bestowed upon them all, they tooke so much money of theirs at interest at five and twenty upon the hundred, as they payd to some one of them five thousand marks yeerely for the use of his money; and the English merchants at that time had not one friend in court."

However, he was received with great state by the Czar, and entertained at a magnificent banquet. Personal interviews with the sovereign succeeded; but his instructions did not allow him to satisfy the requirements of Ivan, and the disappointment of the

[1] Printed by Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. i, p. 517.

despot led to an outbreak of passion, which is thus described:

"In the end, after sundry meetings, the Emperour finding himselfe not satisfied to his liking, for that the ambassadour had not power by his commission to yeeld to every thing that he thought fit, as a man whose will was seldome wonted to be gainsayd, let loase his passion, and with a sterne and angry countenance tolde him that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters."

The ambassador answers—

"That the Queene his mistresse was as great a prince as any was in Christendome, equall to him that thought himself the greatest, well able to defend herselfe against his malice whosoever, and counted no meanes to offend any that either shee had or should have cause to be enemy unto. 'Yea (quoth he) how sayest thou to the French king and the king of Spaine?'—'Mary (quoth the ambassadour) I holde the Queene my mistresse as great as any of them both.'—'Then what sayest thou (quoth hee) to the Emperour of Germany?'—'Such is the greatnesse of the Queene my mistresse (quoth the Ambassadour) as the King her father had (not long since) the Emperour in his pay, in his warres against France.' This answere misliked the Emperor yet so much more, as that he tolde the Ambassadour, that, were he not an ambassador, he would throw him out of the doores," etc.

Notwithstanding this hot altercation, Bowes maintained the favour of Ivan, who held frequent conversations with him, in one of which he expressed the following resolution—

"To marry some kinswoman of her Majesties, and that he

would send againe into England, to have some one of them to wife; and if her Majestie would not upon his next ambassage send him such a one as he required, himselfe would then goe into England, and cary his treasure with him, and marry one of them there."

Bowes states that he had succeeded in obtaining a new charter of privileges for the Company, by which all strangers, save the English, were excluded from the Russian trade on the northern coasts. The document was signed and sealed, and was to be delivered to him at his next coming to court, when the Czar fell sick and died. This untoward event was fatal to the success of the ambassador's mission. He was now, as he tells us, in the hands of Mekita Romanovitch and Andrea Shalkan, the chancellor, who took the chief government upon themselves, and from whom he received only insults and outrages.

Boris Fedorovitch Godunow, the new Czar's brother-in-law, showed a more favourable disposition; but he had not yet that supremacy in the new Emperor's councils which he rose to shortly after. And, after much risk of violent treatment, of which an account is given by Horsey in his narrative,[1] he was suffered to return home. The letter, however, which was committed to him to deliver to Elizabeth, and which, as he says, "conteyned nothing of that he came for," he indignantly gave back to the gentleman who escorted him on his journey through Russia, at the moment of embarking, and with it the present he

[1] Travels, p. 203.

had received from the new Emperor. He reached England on the 12th of September following.

Horsey takes credit to himself for the opportune assistance he afforded to Bowes in extricating him from a position of considerable danger at the Russian court, after the death of the Czar Ivan. Bowes, in the account we have abstracted, is naturally silent as to his own demerits; and, as we are aware, was exposed by his instructions to the wrath of a dissatisfied tyrant: but, from other accounts of his mission, it is clear that he took no pains to ward off the effects of the ungrateful course defined for him. He appears to have indulged in overweening pride,—to have been too ready to suppose slights and indignities,—and to have embittered the feelings of men of power and station at the court, by drawing upon them punishment through his complaints to their sovereign.

During the last years of Ivan's reign Horsey had been allowed access to his court, and had been employed by him in a special mission to Queen Elizabeth. In his narrative he mentions some interesting particulars of the dying tyrant's last days, showing the superstitious character of his mind. He tells us that, in the distraction and terror of his approaching end, he sent for sixty witches from the north, "wher ther is store, between Chollmogorod and Lappia." They were closely guarded, and their divinations (*divelinations*, Horsey calls them) were reported only to Bodan Belskoy, the Czar's favourite. He describes, too, a most curious scene which passed

in the Treasury, where the Czar was used to have himself carried in his chair daily. How, on one such occasion, he was beckoned by the Prince (Boris Godunow) to follow; and how he heard the dying monarch point out to the courtiers around him the secret powers of the various precious stones that enriched his stores, and interpret them with a strange wildness. He placed a red coral and a turquoise on his arm; and the wretched man pointed to their change of colour as the effect of the disease which poisoned his blood, and which accordingly would prove fatal. The diamond "restræyns furie and luxurie. I never affected it."—The ruby "is most comfortable to the hart, braine, vigor and memorie of man." The emerald has "the natur of the reynbowe; this precious stone is an enemye to uncleannes."—"The saphier I greatlie delight in; yt preserves and increaseth courage, joies the heart", etc.—"All these (he adds) ar Gods wonderfull guifts, secreats in natur, and yet reveals them to mans use and contemplacion, as frendes to grace and vertue and eneymies to vice."

Ivan Vasilievitch was succeeded by his son, the weak prince Fedor. The government of the country had been settled by the late Emperor in a Council of Regency, consisting of six members, of which number was the Prince Boris Fedorovitch Godunow, brother of the new Czar's wife, the Empress Irenia. It is not requisite to draw the character of this ambitious but far-seeing and able statesman; who quickly secured the chief power in the state, under the title

of Protector. He had constantly shewn himself a favourer of the English alliance, and of the interests of the Russia Company. Horsey appears to have early secured his confidence; and we find him, during his subsequent troubles, always appealing to the prince's countenance and support. On the first confusion following the late Emperor's death, when Boris surrounded himself with his friends and stood forward to take the lead in securing the quiet succession to his young brother-in-law the Czarovitch Fedor, Horsey tells us—[1] "I offered myself, men, powder and pistolls, to attend the Prince Protector: he accepted me amonge his famillie and servants; passinge by with a chearfull countenance upon me, said—'Be faithfull and fear not.'" Horsey was consulted by the Council on the course to be pursued towards the indiscreet Sir Jerome Bowes, the feeling against whom was extreme; and found himself unable to contend against the rancour of the parties whom Bowes had aggrieved. The Protector Boris came to his assistance in this emergency; sent for him in private, and consulted him on his manner of proceeding; and it was only by the Protector's friendly assistance that he was able to rescue Bowes from the hands of men quite willing to gratify their grudge against him to the uttermost, and to ensure his safe withdrawal from Moscow.

Horsey remained to witness the coronation of the new Emperor; and wrote a description of the ceremony.[2]

[1] Travels, p. 202. [2] Appendix I, p. 267.

The correspondence between the two courts, at the accession of a new sovereign in Russia, was at the first tinged with some unpleasantness. The Czar Fedor's first letters to the Queen, conveyed by a Dutchman (Reginald Bekman, the interpreter), contained complaints of the haughty bearing of her envoy, Sir Jerome Bowes; with demands of free privilege to trade with her dominions, on behalf of his subjects.

The Queen, in her answer,[1] dated the 9th of June, 1585, and sent by his own messenger, Bekman, dwells with much emphasis on the constant and peculiar favour shewn by the late Czar Ivan to her subjects, especially in the superior commercial privileges granted to them above all other strangers. She regrets that Sir Jerome Bowes should have given cause of offence in the execution of his mission. She refers to the treaty concluded with Ivan just before his death, by which the Czar had designed to secure to himself the advantage of obtaining warlike stores. She assents to his request, that Russian merchants may trade freely with her dominions; but petitions that the right of traffic with his empire be so far limited to the Company, that no other Englishman shall be admitted to the trade, unless by their permission; justifying the demand from consideration of their loss of life and expenses in first exploring the route by sea to Russia.

The reply of the Czar Fedor to this letter, conveyed by Horsey, was dated in September 1585, and

[1] Cotton MS. Nero B. xi, f. 375.

shewed an increased feeling of dissatisfaction.[1] The Czar renews his complaints of the insolent conduct of Elizabeth's ambassador, Jerome Bowes, and suggests that his former representations on that head had not been properly reported to her. He complains of the unseemly living of the English merchants in his dominions; and that they fail to observe the rules laid down in the letters of privilege under which they trade—in selling piecemeal, in importing the goods of other countries, and in bringing in foreigners under English names. He contrasts the advantages enjoyed by her subjects with those allowed to other traders, and refuses to exclude the merchants of other countries. He complains of the indifferent reception she had given to his envoy, Bekman, the interpreter, and of his unnecessary detention in England. He requests that Horsey may be the bearer of her answer, adding a commendation of his conduct.

We have not met with a copy of Elizabeth's answer to this epistle, which must have been dated in April 1586; but the historian Karamsin gives an epitome of it, referring to the original in the national archives.[2] It appears that she entered into some excuses of her treatment of Bekman; and gave up her demands of a monopoly of trade in favour of her subjects, only requiring that they should be relieved from the payment of heavy custom dues. She wrote also to the Prince Boris Godunow, thanking him for

[1] State Paper Office, Russian Royal Letters. Karamsin, vol. x, p. 427.

[2] Karamsin, vol. x, p. 43.

his favourable disposition towards the Company, and expressing a hope that a man of so enlightened a mind would see the advantage to his country in encouraging her merchants, and would henceforward become their protector.

We have said that Horsey was the bearer of the Czar's answer to Elizabeth's letters sent by the Russian envoy, Bekman, on his return to his own country. He was also despatched back by Elizabeth with her reply; and, by turning to his own account of these missions, we are able to add other particulars to the foregoing account of the correspondence. But it was not only as a messenger to the English court that he was employed on this occasion. The Protector, Boris Godunow, had singled him out for the execution of a secret commission, of delicate execution, and of the utmost moment to his own designs. As regent in behalf of the young Czar, his brother-in-law, the virtual sovereignty was already in his hands; but vicarial power was not enough for his ambition, and his schemes were laid for wresting the sceptre itself from the feeble hands which now held it. After Fedor's brother, the young Prince Demetrius, a child of eight years of age, the succession would come to Maria, the niece of the late Czar, widow of Magnus Duke of Holstein and titular King of Livonia. Since the death of her husband, this lady had been supported by a small annuity from the crown of Poland, and was living, apparently under restraint, in a wretched condition, with her sole daughter, Eudoxia, in the castle of Riga. It was of consequence to Boris Godu-

now to get this forlorn woman and her daughter into his power; and the commission he secretly entrusted Horsey with, was to obtain access to her, and, by assurances of honourable treatment and splendid allowances from her kinsman, the Emperor, to entice her to escape from her present retreat, and place herself and child under his protection. Flattered by the confidence of the Protector, and pleased with the opportunity of securing his favour by so important a service, Horsey undertook this cruel commission; evidently conscious the while of the treachery he was to be the instrument of.[1]

Horsey set out from Moscow on the 20th of August, 1585. He repaired straightway to Riga, and succeeded in gaining access to the intended victim of his employer by means of Cardinal Radzivil, Governor of Livonia, "a bounsinge princely prellate, lovinge the companye of the Livonian ladies, the farest weomen of the knowen world"; with whom he ingratiated himself by humouring his disposition to joviality. He was introduced to the apartment of the widowed Queen, whom he surprised in the act of combing the locks of her daughter, a girl of nine years of age. She confessed her discontent with her present condition, as a kind of state prisoner, with an allowance of scarce a thousand dollars a year; but expressed extreme dread of trusting herself in the hands of the Russian government: "Knowing their fashions in Muscovia, I have littel hope to be dealt otherwise with than they use to doe with ther Queens

[1] Travels, p. 210.

widdowes ther,—to be shutt up in a hellish cloister; befor which I choiess death." Horsey allayed her apprehensions, and performed his treacherous commission with success. He sent an immediate report of the result to Prince Boris, who, eager for his prey, lost no time in despatching agents to assist the Queen's escape from the castle of Riga. Horsey records the issue of this cruel work of deception—not without some compunction at his share in it—in these words:

"At my return owt of England (to make an end of this matter) I perceaved she was much esteemed, had her officers, lands and alowance, accordinge to her estate: but not longe after she and her daughter were disposed of into maieds monnesterie [the nunnery of Troitza] among the rest of the Queens; wherat she exclaimed:—'Woo be unto the tyme she was betraied and that ever she gave faithe unto me!—but could not be permitted sight of me nor I of her. This pece of service was verie acceptable; wherof I much repent me.'"

Horsey continued his journey through Courland to Königsberg and Dantzic; and thence through Cashabia, Pomerania, Stettin, Mecklenburg and Lubeck, to Hamburg. On arriving in England he was admitted to an audience by Elizabeth, who complimented him on his having been held worthy to be employed in such weighty affairs by so great a foreign prince. The following day the Queen held a second conference with him, and questioned him concerning the conduct of Sir Jerome Bowes: on which Horsey spoke with reserve. But the letters which he had brought from the Czar were given to him to

translate into English, and were found to contain matter to the disadvantage of Bowes. He had a third interview with the Queen, at Greenwich, in which he communicated what he had been instructed to say by word of mouth; but we are not told the tenor of the message,—probably only complimentary.

Horsey was now enjoying the full sunshine of court favour. But this was suddenly, for a time, overcast by the malice of Sir Jerome Bowes,[1] who, finding himself in some disgrace at court, from the unfavourable report of his mission conveyed in the letters delivered by Horsey, and suspecting an aggravation of the ill impression by Horsey's own account of his conduct there, suborned one Finch, who owed Horsey a grudge from some affair in Russia, and "whom he said I would have rosted in the Moscow for a spie", to accuse him of having reported, on a certain day, at his table, respecting the Earl of Leicester, "how he had cast his wiff down a pare of stares, breck her neck, and so became the Queen's minion." This spiteful calumny had nearly worked its intended effect on Horsey's fortunes at court. The matter was gravely taken up, and the parties confronted in presence of the Privy Council. The subject of inquiry, however, was probably not confined to the alleged scandal against the Earl of Leicester, but included charges in reference to Horsey's conduct in Russia. Some of the lords, and especially Sir Francis Walsingham, showed their confidence in Horsey; and Finch, under a close cross-questioning, broke

[1] Travels, p. 215.

down in his story, faltered, looked vainly to Sir Jerome Bowes for further cue, and eventually confessed he had been set on by Bowes himself to frame a charge of which he had heard nothing before. Finch was committed to prison, Burghley himself sarcastically telling him,—"Though you wear not rosted, sirra, yt was pittie you had not been a littel scorched."[1]

Horsey was now fully restored to the Queen's good graces; and occupied himself diligently in executing the commissions he had brought from the Czar and the Prince Boris Godunow. The latter, it appears, had instructed him to inquire of the most skilful physicians of Oxford, Cambridge and London, respecting peculiarities in the constitution of his sister, the Empress Irenia, and the cause of her repeated miscarriages; and "some other mariage matters wherin I was charged with secrecie, which fell out to be verie daingerous unto me."[2] This obscure passage refers, no doubt, to the mysterious affair of the midwife, whom Horsey represented himself as commissioned to bring out from England for the service of the Empress, for which moreover he asked and received Elizabeth's sanction, but who, on her arrival with him subsequently in Russia, was not introduced

[1] The memorial of John Finch, addressed to the Privy Council at this period against Horsey, is preserved in the State Paper Office. It is evidently drawn up in a malicious spirit; and contains many of the charges which were afterwards incorporated by the Company in their articles of accusation against Horsey.

[2] Travels, p. 215.

to the Empress, nor allowed to approach Moscow. The commission was, in fact, disowned by the Russian court; and Horsey was brought into disgrace with the Czar from his conduct in respect to it. Allusions to the affair are of frequent occurrence in papers of the period, which always refer to it as a transaction not at all understood; but, by a document we have met with in the State Paper Office, we are enabled to make the matter plain, and to show how it brought trouble upon Horsey. The paper is an exculpation of Horsey from various charges connected with his conduct in Russia—written, it would seem, by Dr. Fletcher;[1] and the affair of the midwife is referred to in the following paragraph. It was objected against Jerome Horsey—

"That hee had delt in a matter perteining to the Empresse; viz. had procured a midwife to be sent owt of England: whereas the Empresse (as they sayed) gave him no suche commission, neither had need of any suche wooman, beeing not with child. This matter I found to bee mistaken by Mr. Horsey, who had received his charge not from the Empresse but from her brother Borrise Federowich Godonoe, to procure owt of England, not a midwife, but soom doctoritza that had skill in woomens matters to make them conceive, etc.; because, the Empresse beeing barren, they feared the inheritance of the crown would goe to the Emperours younger brother, and so the Godonoes should loose their greatnes and bee accountant for their government under the Emperour."

Unhappily for Horsey, his misapprehension of Prince Godunow's commission had caused him to

[1] Printed in the Appendix, No. V, p. 373.

mislead the Queen herself. He had represented the desire for an English midwife as conveyed in a request from the Empress Irenia herself to Elizabeth; and Horsey, in returning to Russia, took with him a letter from the Queen to the Czarina, written in Latin,[1] and to this effect:—

"Elizabeth, etc., to the most serene Irenia, Empress of Russia, etc. Most serene and most potent Princess, our very dear friend and sister! The singular fame of your eminent prudence, most rare virtues and manners truly becoming so great a princess—confirmed moreover by the repeated mention of them by Doctor Jacob, our physician—causes us to love your Serenity with true affection, and most ardently to desire for you all prosperity and happiness. We cannot fail therefore to be anxious for your health and safety; we have accordingly sent, not only what you affectionately requested, an expert and tried midwife, to soothe by her skill the pains of childbirth, but also our physician, who has the care of our own health, the aforesaid Doctor Jacob, a trustworthy man already known to you, to direct the conduct of the midwife by the medical science he excels in, and faithfully to watch over your safety. And we fervently desire most fully to gratify your sisterly affection not only in this matter but in whatever else your Serenity may wish. Given at Greenwich, the 24th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1585 [1586], and the 27th of our reign."

Dr. Hamel states that in the Russian translation of this epistle presented to the Czarina, the passage relating to the midwife was omitted, at the instigation of Godunow, as the arrival of a skilful midwife

[1] Transcribed by Dr. Hamel from a rough draft in a manuscript at Cambridge; "England and Russia," Appendix Z.

for his sister, the Czarina, was disagreeable to him. The midwife was detained at Vologda, and not allowed to present herself to Irenia.

Horsey, having executed his other commissions, in making a provision of "lyons, bulls, doggs, guilt-halberds, pistolls, peces, armor, wynes, store of druggs of all sorts, organes, virgenalls, musicions, scarletts, perrell chaines, plate of curious makinge and of other costly things of great value," took leave of the Queen, receiving her letters to the Czar and Prince Godunow, and set out on his return to Russia, on the fifth of April, 1586. He arrived at Moscow about the fifth of June, and was received with honour by the Czar, and with special favour by the Protector, Boris Godunow; who, in a private interview, explained to him the changes in public affairs and the various moves made by the different players in the political game he himself had so deep an interest in.[1] Horsey narrates an anecdote illustrating both the ambitious views of the Protector at this period, and his nervous apprehension for the safety of his person.

The presents which he had brought from the Queen gave the highest satisfaction to Fedor and his Czarina. The musical instruments raised a *furor* of delight. The Empress Irenia—

"admired especially at the organes and vergenalls, all gilt and enambled, never seeinge nor heeringe the like before; wondered and delighted at the lowd and musicall sound thereof. Thousands of people resorted and steyed aboutt

[1] Travels, p. 217.

the pallace to heer the same. My man that plaied upon them much made of and admitted into such presence often wher myself could not com."

The Prince Boris was equally well pleased with the jewels, plate, weapons and other things, provided for him according to his commission; and Horsey takes pains to assure us that the satisfaction he had given placed him on the best terms at court, and procured him besides solid advantages in the shape of "gold wrought handkerchiefs, shirts, carpetes," and other valuable donations from the Lord Protector and his friends. He moreover turned to account his interest with Godunow by procuring boons of various descriptions, exemptions from taxes, liberties and privileges, for towns, monasteries, merchants and others, "not without good acknowledgement and recompence."

The object of Horsey's mission was to inforce the claims of the Company to a monopoly of the trade on the northern coasts of the empire, against not only their own countrymen, but also merchants from other kingdoms. A system of such narrow exclusiveness was extremely distasteful to the new monarch, who was not swayed by those peculiar personal views which affected the judgment of his predecessor, and whose ministers naturally enough revolted against pretensions so hurtful to the true interests of the country. Their sentiments on the subject are expressed in the following extract from a letter written by the Czar to Queen Elizabeth in September, 1586.[1]

[1] State Paper Office.—Russian Correspondence.

... "And whereas yt is written unto us in your letters that your people myghte bring unto us greate stoare with overplus of sutche comodities as is needfull for us, and that we shold not permitt nor lett come into our kingdome to trade merchandize no other of your countrie besides those that cometh with your letters; for us to make any sutch orders for your country is not meet. Whosoever or owt of what countrie soever anie cometh into our kingdome have leve and lycence to trade merchandizes; and to binde us in that, that in our kingdome we shall not permitt the trade of merchandize for others, yt were not fytt. In that matter your merchants requeste unto you is not reasonable; they would reape all the proffit to themselves alone and will not willinglie permitt any other to come unto our havens; and so it would be to our kingdome hinderance; that point is not commendable. Our goodnes shalbe sufficient unto your merchants, in whose behalf you shall send your letters, to command half custome to be taken of them; and those other merchants which shall come owt of your countrie and owt of countries licensed to come, but provyded we comaunde whole custome to be taken of them; and at the cominge of your merchants to be at our prescribed townes for the trade, as we, Great Lorde, in our owne kingdome, prescribe for all straungers, and to be at our devotion in the trade. And wee by the help of God can make utterance of all our comodities at pleasure, and our realme well spare your merchaunts comodities; our kingdomes greate, and merchaunts owte of many realmes have recours with their merchandize into our kingdomes, owt of the Turkes governmente, from the Emperor, from the Frenche, owte of Spaigne, owte of Pollande and Lettowe, owte of Percia and Bohemie, from the Jorgias and Shamakey, and from many other provinces by lande and by sea, besides those havens at Colmogor, and canne ridd our comodities without your merchants comodities, although your merchaunts do cease to come with their

wares; and [that] wee, for your merchaunts sakes onelie, shutt up the recoors of many people owt of many kingdomes to us, weare not reason. In those causes, our most loving sister, Queen Elizabeth, those merchunts that have recoors into our kingdomes doth informe yow wrong for their owne proffitts sake. And touchinge that, our sister, yow wrote unto us of our merchaunts that our merchants have never heertofore had any trade into your kingdome, and do make it greave of theim, and make of so small a matter so great an exception; our merchants have not in times paste had recoors into your country and have no occasion to come heerafter. And wheeras yow wrote in your letters unto us that yow are willinge to shew pleinlie in all causes your love towards us by your good deedes through our imbassador or messinger, and if there be any sutch needfull caus betweene us, yf yow liste to send we referr it to your pleasure; and yf yow our sisters pleasure is to send unto us touchinge any caws, your imbassyd[or] messinger, then do you send us sutch of your good people that maie goe with speede, that maie come unto us with knowledge in messadges, as the manner and use is to sutch great princes, not in sucth sorte as your embassador Jerome Bowes did with many unsemlie dealings; and [to] your embassyd[or] messingers, etc., cominge and goinge into our kingdome, the way shalbe open, and free at pleasure without any stey or lett."

Notwithstanding this reasonable resistance to the selfish demands of the English government, the high favour in which Horsey at this time stood with the court of Russia, and especially with the all-powerful Protector, Boris Godunow, enabled him to effect a satisfactory adjustment of the affairs of the Company, and to procure for them a charter of privileges more extensive than they had hitherto enjoyed.[1] Besides

[1] The charter is printed at length in Appendix I, p. 281.

the remittance of considerable debts to the government, and the recovery of a sum owing by the Chancellor, Andrea Schalkalove, many years, and which "was violently puneshed from him, and payd the Companye", they secured concessions of great moment to their well-being. Proclamation was made throughout the whole kingdom for a better administration of justice, in their behalf, by the Emperor's officers. All interlopers "and straglyng Englishmen lyving in that contrey" were ordered to leave the kingdom. The Company were allowed to retain their warehouses at Rose Island, and were not to be obliged to move them to the newly founded city of Archangel. They were to be permitted—

"to unload English articles of import, and embark Russian produce for exportation, at their old house at Rose Island. The Cholmogorii custom house shall merely receive lists of such goods, but shall not have the right to examine them."

"There was given unto the Company a moste ample and free preveledge and of great consequence, evene as large as the prince [Boris] and I coulde devise, to trade and traffycke in all places of the Czar's domynyons, without payeinge any costome whatsoever; obtayned not withoute many conflictes with the Chauncelore Shalkan, who, havinge the penning thearof, used divers conynge and coverte obstacles to abridge the largnes of the same, under pretence of good servis to the crowne."

The conditions the Company, on the other hand, were bound to observe,[1] were: to import none but their own merchandise; not to employ Russian agents

[1] See Appendix I, p. 281.

to effect sales, but to make their own barter of their goods; not to engross or buy up Russian commodities; to sell nothing in retail; not to send any of their servants into England by land, without knowledge of the Emperor; to acknowledge, in their processes with Russian subjects, the jurisdiction of the Treasurer of State and the Secretary of Embassies.

It will be remembered how fixed an idea the late Czar, Ivan, had held, of seeking a refuge in England in case of the hatred of his subjects obliging him to fly from his own country. We are now told by Horsey that the Protector, Boris Godunow, had adopted this favourite project of his late master, and had actually collected treasures and stores at the Sollavetsca monastery, on the north coast, "to have them ther readie to be transported into England; holdinge it the shurest refuge, and saffest receptacle, in case of necessitie he should be inforced thereunto." Unhappily this timid precaution of the Protector became known, and the ancient nobility, growing jealous of such evidence of partiality towards the English, showed their ill feeling in a diminished kindliness towards Horsey himself. He accordingly hastened the execution of his remaining business; and set out on his return to England in the summer of 1587, taking with him letters from the Czar to Elizabeth. From the Protector, too, he received letters for the Queen, together with "large commissions for providinge many costly thinges, and doinge some secreat messages."

Horsey's vanity was gratified by unusual honours shewn him in his journey to Rose Island, being everywhere received in the character of an ambassador from the Emperor proceeding on his mission.[1] At Archangel "the Dutch and French ships in the road shott of their ordinance by the Duke's [Voiavode's] apointment." He embarked at Rose Island for England on St. Bartholomew's day, 1587, arrived at Tynemouth on the 30th of September, and posted up to London in four days. The court was at Richmond; and, in the audience to which Horsey was there received by the Queen, he presented the Czar's letters and the charter of privileges granted to the Company "with golden spread eagell seals at them." The Queen made him kneel beside her. She "perused the lymninge and carectors of the priviledge, having some affinitie with the Greeke; asked if such and such letters and asseveracions had not this signification; saied she, 'I could quicklie lern it.' Preyed my lord of Essex to lern the famoust and most copius language in the world. After which comendacion his honor did much affect and delight it, —if he might atayne therunto without paienstakinge and spendinge more time then he had to spare."

In a subsequent audience, Horsey delivered the letters of the Protector, Boris Godunow, and also the presents from the Czar. They were laid out for the Queen's inspection in an adjoining gallery. Her Majesty "commanded som to forbare and withdraw,— fearinge belike some would be bagginge." Every

[1] Travels, p. 230.

article was closely inspected. "The Queen did even sweat by takinge paines to handell the canapie cloth of gold, especially the rich sabells and furs." At the conclusion, "her Majesty held up her hand and saied, this was a rare and a royall present indeed: gave me thanckes and dismist me."

Although Horsey had been successful in obtaining from the Russian government a charter of privileges for the Company—and that in terms as favourable as they could have dictated—it was found still desirable to solicit a confirmation of these concessions, and to establish the alliance between the sovereigns by a special league of amity. Moreover, the affairs of the Company were in confusion, from dissensions amongst their servants and the mismanagement of their business in Russia; and it was judged necessary for the Queen to despatch an ambassador to the Russian court to conclude the terms of a final alliance, and "to establish and reduce into order the decaied trade of our Englishmen there."[1] The person selected for this honourable mission was Dr. Giles Fletcher: and it is to the opportunity of studying the condition of the country and the manners of its people which this employment gave him, that we are indebted for the admirable survey of the government and condition of Russia we are now republishing.

The task before him was of greater difficulty than had probably been foreseen. From the facility with which Horsey had been able to obtain the charter of privileges he had lately brought back to England, it

[1] Hakluyt, vol. i, p. 533.

might have been expected that the present ambassador would have found little obstacle in the way of his negotiation. But many things conspired to produce a feeling on the part of the Russian government unfavourable to his embassy. The success of Horsey had been achieved by the unusual favour he enjoyed with the regent, Boris Godunow, who held sway in the name of his brother-in-law the young Emperor Fedor; and in defiance of ministers of considerable influence, who entertained a declared hostility to the English interests. Among these, the chancellor Andreas Schalkalove was the most powerful and also the most inveterate. He was constantly opposed to the monopoly contended for by the English Company; and was excited to personal opposition by conflicts with Horsey himself, who boasts[1] of having "violently puneshed from him" a debt which he owed the Company, and of having drawn upon him corporal chastisement from the Emperor. But Godunow himself had unfortunately taken offence at a presumed slight on the part of Elizabeth and her ministers, in the manner of addressing him in letters despatched in the interval between the granting of the charter of privileges and Horsey's arrival with it in England. In a letter which he wrote to Horsey after he had left Moscow, and received by him at Rose Island as he was embarking for England, the offended prince writes in these terms;—

"I lette the[e] understand that Queene Elyzabethe of England, hir dukes and noble mene, have written letteres

[1] See Appendix II, p. 289.

unto me of late most unseemly and very undecente, joyning the chauncelere with me thearin, which is no small disparagemente unto my princely dignety and honore, as thou knoweste, which is to me very greevos; and have also written in the same letteres that I have not respected nor protected the Queenes merchants, but suffered them to be boughte and sould and injured of all people."

He then enumerates the good offices he has done the merchants, and adds:—

"Wherfore I have not answered Queene Elizabethe hir dukes and noble men their letteres at this tyme for displeasure; but, God willinge, I will write unto them hereaftere thoroughely my mynd, and what my love and frendshipe hathe bynne unto Queen Elizabethe and hir subjectes."[1]

Fletcher, therefore, on arriving at Moscow in 1588, found an estrangement in a quarter where he must have looked for especial assistance, and had to encounter the unrestrained hostility of the next most influential member of the government, the Chancellor Schalkalove, and who was also the minister for foreign embassies. He has himself left a clear statement of the obstacles to his negotiation, drawn up for the information of the government on his return to England, and which will be found appended to the present volume.[2] Among these he mentions the personal dissatisfaction of Boris Godunow, as occasioned by the conduct of the Company in three particulars. 1. That they had persecuted Horsey and driven him from court, although he had been sent as a messenger from himself with letters and presents to the Queen. 2. That they had not fur-

[1] Appendix II, p. 293. [2] Appendix IV, p. 342.

nished him with certain things, horses, armour, pearls, etc., which he had required. 3. That they had divided his present which he had sent to the Queen into two parts; the one as from himself, the other as from the Emperor. The first of these complaints we shall be able to explain hereafter, when we refer again to the personal history of Horsey. Of the others we have no particular information. Another cause of the coolness shewn towards his mission was the circumstance of a league being then in hand between the Russian Emperor and the King of Spain. Of course such an alliance, at the critical period of the attempted descent on England by Philip II, would be no less than fatal to the objects of Fletcher's embassy. Much pains had been taken on the part of the Spanish agents (including an ambassador from the Emperor Maximilian, then in Moscow) to persuade the Russian court that the success of Philip was certain, that he would overcome the English and make an entire conquest of the country. "But," Fletcher adds, "after your Highnes victorie against the King of Spain was well knowen thear (which I understood by letteres sent mee by Sir Francis Drake, which I cawsed to bee translated into the Russ tongue, togeather with your Highnes oration made to the armie in Essex), all this conceipt of a Spanish league vanished away."

The other causes of dissatisfaction on the part of the Russian court were, the supposed disinclination of the English Company to move their trade from Narva (now in the hands of the Swedes) to port St.

Nicholas, in the White Sea; which, as it would bring the advantage of the entire traffic to Russia herself, was much desired by the Government; and the continued dislike felt to the monopoly contended for in behalf of the Company, as injurious to the Czar's revenue. To the latter of these points no answer could be given, beyond the claims of the Company as the first pioneers of the new trade, and a specious allegation that "the whole country of Russia was not able to receave so much of English commodities as wear now brought yearlie by the said Companie of merchants," and consequently that there was no room for additional traders. To the former the answers of Fletcher are not very intelligible; but there is extant a paper, submitted by the Company to the English government in the year 1583, in which they set forth their reasons in favour of fixing their trade at St. Nicholas, in preference to Narva[1],—grounded principally on the danger of offending Denmark by a step which would diminish her Sound dues, as also Russia by abandoning her port; and also on the probability of Narva again changing hands, and the consequent insecurity of their goods.

In consequence, however, of this unfavourable disposition of the Russian ministers, Fletcher was treated with studied neglect. He even complains of being confined in an unwholesome house—more as a prisoner than an ambassador; that his "allowance of vittail was bare and base"; and that he was not suffered to send any letter into England.

[1] Lansdowne MS. xxxvii, art. 82.

Fletcher's patience, however, with the effect produced by the news of the victory of the English over their Spanish adversaries, overcame all difficulties, and the result of his negotiation was an enlargement of the privileges of the Company. The charter so lately obtained through Horsey had been in great measure set aside, though not openly recalled. The principal conditions of it were now renewed and confirmed, and amongst additional concessions obtained were included these:—"That the Companie shall trade freelie down the river Volgha into Media, Persia, Bougharia, etc., and no stranger shall bee permitted to trade that way but they."—"That no Englishman hereafter shall bee sett on the *pudkey*, or otherwise tormented, for anie suspition of crime whatsoever."—"That the Companie of English merchants shall not be hereafter under the office of Andreas Shalkan, but pertein to the office of the Treasurie, so that they may appeal to the Lord Boris Federowich Godonove if they thinck they have wrong." Fletcher returned home in 1589, well pleased with the concessions he had obtained for the Russia Company, but with feelings of resentment at the personal indignities he had been exposed to; and we shall hereafter draw attention to the terms in which Elizabeth, in addressing the Russian Emperor, took notice of the affronts put upon her ambassador.

But in the correspondence between the courts which ensued after the return of Fletcher, Horsey again becomes a conspicuous figure; and, in order to understand the terms in which he is there referred to,

it will be necessary to take up his history from the time of his arrival in England with the charter of privileges in 1587. Notwithstanding the considerable services which he might fairly claim the credit of having just rendered to the Company, he was soon to find himself the object of their open hostility, and denounced to the English government as a disturber of their affairs in Russia and a defaulter in his accounts. As we have before stated, Horsey himself mentions in his narrative his being called before the Privy Council to answer to charges by Sir Jerome Bowes of spreading malicious reports against the Earl of Leicester, on the evidence of a certain John Finch; and he tells us that he was triumphantly acquitted. But he is altogether silent about other charges which were also about the same time laid before the Council, not by Sir Jerome Bowes, but by the Company, and partly supported by the testimony of the same John Finch. The particulars of the accusation against him we are fully informed of in memorials from the Company to the Council, in which their complaints are set forth at large.[1]

Horsey, it must be remembered, originally went to Russia as an apprentice or clerk of the Company, and, as he rose in importance from the notice taken of him by the Russian emperor, and his consequent employment as a messenger between the two courts, his station under the Company grew to be more considerable, and the trust reposed in him more extensive.

The first article in the memorial of the Company

[1] Printed in Appendix III, p. 312.

states that about the year 1585, in order to put a stop to abuses from the misconduct of their agents and servants in Russia, they were necessitated to reform their general system of management; and, to give effect to their new regulations, they sent over as agent an experienced merchant, Robert Peacock, with John Chapel, a man acquainted with the country and language, as his assistant. It was arranged that Peacock should establish himself at Moskow, and Chapel at the distant station of Casan—five hundred miles apart, as we are told. On information received of the coming of these two new agents, William Trumbull, or Turnbull, at that time agent at Moscow, set out to meet them at St. Nicholas, having committed to Horsey the charge of the storehouse, during his absence. On the arrival of the new agents at St. Nicholas, Horsey was required to forward to them an account of his proceedings in the disposal of the goods left in his charge, and a statement of the portion of them remaining unsold. The statement which Horsey, in pursuance of these instructions, drew up, upon a comparison by Peacock with the goods themselves, proved a false return; and upon being charged with the defalcation, he was content to undertake to make good the deficiency, with the assistance of one Anthony Marsh, his alleged confederate. Furthermore, in his accompt of sales effected during his charge of the factory, he inserted fictitious dealings to the extent of 2,186 roubles; and on the discovery of this fraud, he again took upon himself to make good the amount, and actually paid up an instalment of 500

roubles, but refused the demand made by Peacock of a bill or security for the remainder.

Peacock, accordingly, threatened to report his discovery of the fraud to the Company in his next letters. To defeat this intention, Horsey intrigued with the Russian officials to delay the granting the necessary licence for a messenger to travel overland, from time to time, till the season for such a journey was nearly past. In this difficulty, Peacock, hearing that a Polish merchant had recently left Moscow to return to his own country, sent after him a messenger, by name John Horneby, with two packets of duplicate letters, directing that they should be sent on to England, the one by way of Dantzic, and the other by Memel. Horsey and Marsh met this proceeding by immediately lodging information with the Russian council, that Peacock "had sent a messenger to the borders of the enemyes with letters conteyning matter of treason against the state." Hornby was arrested, and Peacock's letters taken from him and handed to Horsey and Marsh to be translated into Russian, Peacock and his messenger being in the meantime, on suspicion of treason, put under guard, the one in the Company's house, the other in prison.

The sequel of the transaction is of a purely Russian character. The letters were found to be harmless, and to refer simply to mercantile affairs. The council were perplexed; but on a second sitting it was concluded that the treasonable matter had been committed to Hornby to deliver by word of mouth; and a confession of this presumed fact was to be forced

from the wretched messenger by torture. Hornby "was put to the *putkey*, where he was hanged by both his handes, tyed behind him, and waightes to his feete, and had twenty-four lashes with a wyer whippe, beinge still called upon to confesse the treason." Nothing resulting from this treatment, "he was taken downe and laied to the fyer to have bene rosted. But the Lord Boris Fedorowich beinge presente, and consideringe the innocence of the prisoner, cried out to the executioners, 'Take him from the fyer and sende him awaye!'—Wheruppon he was had to pryson againe wher he remayned for the space of eighte weekes." According to the memorial, the suspicion of Horsey being the instigator of this violent treatment, was confirmed by words used by the Prince Boris Godunow to Hornby, at an interview, to thank him for his timely intervention in his favor, viz.: "Thowe maiest thanke thyne own countrymen for thy punishment."

The memorial proceeds to charge Horsey with having caused the imprisonment of John Chapel, by maliciously misinterpreting expressions in a letter found on Hornby, reflecting on Chapel as a spy on the servants of the Company—into a denouncement of him as a spy into the state of the country.[1]

The next subject of complaint against Horsey is his

[1] The letter, written by one John Relph, a servant of the Company, but illicitly trading on his own account—dated at St. Nicholas, and addressed to his partners at Casan—contained reflections on both Peacock and Chapel, as sent by the Company to detect and check such abuses as Relph and his confederates were conscious of being guilty of; and having been intercepted by Peacock's agents, was

conduct in the transaction relating to the midwife, already explained.

He is then charged with arrogance and presumption towards the agents and servants of the Company—assuming undue authority and dignity in consequence of the Queen having honoured him with a commission to negotiate with the Russian court for a new grant of privileges to the Company—that he deposed the agent, Robert Peacock, and sent him to England—that he arrogated the title of president (of the English Factory)—that he erected buildings at the Company's expense, and without their authority—and that, in letters to the Company, he gave a false representation of the state of their affairs. These less serious charges are followed by fresh imputations against his honesty. It is asserted that, taking advantage of Peacock's ignorance of the Russian language, he tried to induce him to sign an acceptance of a bill for 4000 roubles, representing it as for 1500 roubles only; but that, having obtained the money, he was forced with difficulty to refund it to the agent: on his departure, however, for England, he wrote to the Prince Boris Godunow, and by misrepresentation of the circumstances induced him to order the warehouses of the Company to be sealed up.

The very efforts, and those successful ones, of Horsey in behalf of the Company, are made a cause of accusation. For while admitting that he procured for them a grant of privileges from the Emperor, they

being forwarded by him to the Company. It is now in the Lansdowne MS. xlii, art. 23.

charge him with arrogating to himself all the merit of obtaining it, and so detracting from the consideration due to the Queen for the use of her influence.

The remaining articles are founded on conduct of Horsey in Russia before he was employed as an envoy between the two courts. He is charged with having used scurrilous language to Andreas Shalkalove, the chancellor; and with having caused the imprisonment of Thomas Winnington, who had made known to the Company abuses practised by their servants; and also of one Richard Silke and his family, for having sided with his enemy Robert Peacock.

The memorial concludes with a statement that Horsey had fled away on occasion of a charge being brought against him by the midwife whom he had taken out to Russia; that it was feared he had returned to that country; and the memorialists pray that he may never again be employed by her Majesty, and that the Emperor be requested to send him back into England.

In explanation of the fact of Horsey being allowed, after his coming to England with the Emperor's letters, subsequent to the commission of the many offences with which he is charged in the memorial, to return again to Russia with letters from the Queen to the Emperor, and with marks of his sovereign's favour, without protest from the Company, they state[1] that, conscious of outrage done to Elizabeth by the imprisonment and ill-treatment of her subjects, the Emperor had resorted to the services of Horsey

[1] Appendix III, p. 331.

himself to convey his letters to her, as being concerned in these practices, and therefore interested in representing things in the most favorable light at his mistress's court; and that he moreover intimated his wish that Horsey might be intrusted with the charge of the Queen's answer to his letters. In the words of the memorial—

"Thes letters (of the Russian Emperor) requiringe aunsweare by Horssey's retourne, restrayned the Companie that they durst not sewe to her Majestie for the stayinge of him heare, although they knewe him to have bene the worker of their troubles. But he, seeing the Companie had intelligence of the injury he had done them, to stay theire proceedinge and complainte against him, undertooke to pacifie all thes troubles and to procure an inlargement of all thinges, soe he might have the Queenes letters in his favour; which weare obteyned for him; wherein her Highenes vouchsafed him the title of her servante."

They further affirm of the grant privileges obtained through Horsey, that, although it exempted them from payment of customs, their saving on that account amounted to far less than their losses through Horsey's mischievous and wasteful management; and that, whatever the benefit of it, that was now lost. It was declared by Andreas Shalkalove that the charter had been irregularly obtained—and it was now recalled. They decline his offer to go over again to Russia to recover the value of their goods seized by the Emperor, since the disturbances occasioned by his practices, and amounting to twelve thousand roubles—

"The Companie had rather redresse thes injuries other-

wise as they can, by her Majesties gratious meanes and your honnors advise, than to relie uppon anie treatie of his, or wherein he shall beare anie rule or order; for that they knowe there is noe end of his practises nor any measure of his wastfull hande; nether shall theire goodes be free from seasures soe longe as he shall beare any swaye in theire trade. And, lastlie, forasmuch as the Emperor in his last letters to the Queenes Majestie hath expresslie forbidden the retourne of Horssey anie more into his countrie, to deale in the merchauntes affayres, and his counsell have given warning to our agent that, yf Horssey or Marshe retourne againe into Russia, they will hange them,—wee are of opinion that to ymploie him againe thether cannot but be taken a greate contempte of the Companie against soe expresse warninge to the contrarie."

These memorials are followed up by the scheme of a letter to be despatched by the Queen to the Emperor, in which, amongst other matter relating to the Company's affairs, she is made to denounce Horsey as under charge of default to the Company, and as a runaway from justice; and to pray his Majesty "to send him over againe in the next shippes, to make an ende of all matters with the merchantes, and that her Majestie may heare and examine the complaintes and matter wherewith he is to be charged."[1]

Whatever degree of credit we may give to the charges contained in the memorials, they at least make us acquainted with matters of serious difference between Horsey and the Company. The origin of this dissension would probably have been the practice, on the part of Horsey, of trading on his own

[1] Appendix III, p. 314.

account—the general offence of the majority of the servants of the Company; and one of the facts alleged in the memorial, that the Czar had seized goods belonging to them to the value of twelve thousand roubles, would justify extreme measures against those whom they might suspect of having given occasion for such a measure. That Horsey was indeed a trafficker on his own capital, and therefore an interloper in the trade of the Company, is made evident by a singular letter from Robert Peacock, to Sir Thomas Walsingham. From this we learn, not only that Horsey was engaged in commercial ventures on his own account, but that Sir Francis Walsingham, as well as others, were partners in his speculations, and known to be so by the Company's agents.[1] Horsey dedicates his narrative to this minister; he frequently mentions him as his friend and especial supporter at court; and we have here evidence of an interested motive for this protection. We subjoin a copy of the document, as throwing light on the character of Horsey, and explaining Walsingham's interference to screen him from the consequences of his irregular practices towards the Company:—

To the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsingham, knight, her Majesties principal Secretarie, and one of her Highnesse most honorable Pryvie Counsell.

Right honorable; my humble dewtie remembred, etc.

[1] State Paper Office—Russian Correspondence. Walsingham was a partner in the Russia Company, at least his name appears in the list of members in the charter obtained by Randolph in 1563, but was not thereby, as we conceive, justified in trading separately on his own account.

Understandinge that your honour did of late, at Jerome Horsaye his beinge in Englande, take greate paynes in furtheringe the marchauntes busines to her Majestie and the lordes of Her Highnes mooste honorable Counsell (as you have bene alwayes redie to do theym all good), and, in respectt of their favor toward Horsaye and willingnes to winke at his former misdemeanors, not only to favor him and dispatch him awaye with her Majesties letters to the Emperor here, but also to be an adventurer with him, I thowght it my dewtie to geve you to understande somewhat of that man, leaste, ledd by over good an opinion of him, you might be deceaved. His state is not good; he oweth, that I knowe, to the marchaunts fower thowsande rubbells, and to other twoe thowsande rubbells; and of the goods and commodities browght over wyth him he hath lyttell lefte (howe much thaye maye amounte unto I knowe not); and of all this I see not in commodities of this countrey prepared to send home unto your honor, and other his frendes adventurers wyth him, for above fyve thowsande rubbells; but for your honor I knowe he wyll make shifte to make retorne wyth proffitt, both that you maye thinke well of him, as also be incouraged to adventure further. It maye please you to beware. I might troble your honorable eares with notes of his disorderlie behavior here, but I shold enter into a sea that hath no bottome, and cause you to waste tyme in readinge those thinges, whiche besydes (I knowe) you shall here of by others eyther by speache or by wrytinge. And therfore besechinge your honor to accepte of me and this my wrytinge accordinge as I meane it, I most humblye take my leave, gevinge you thankes for your good counsell geven me at Richmounde in your lodginge afore my commynge owt of Englande; and [it] was that I shold looke to my selffe to mayntayne and keepe that good name of honestie which it pleased you to saye that I then had. What was more spoken by your honor of the soyle of Russia, and by Mr. Raphe

Bowes of the soyle of Westminster, I do well remember, and do assure your honor, that, God continewinge his grace toward me (without the which the moste strongest must needs fawle), Russia shall not corrupt me, nether one waye not other; it hath not increased me in welthe, it shall not decrese me in my good name. The Almightie keepe your honor, together with my good ladie your bedfellowe, to lyve longe in health with much joye; graunte yow here on yearth his blessinges in aboundance, and in the world to come lyffe everlastinge. From Mosco in Russia, the viii of Februarye, 1586 [1587].

Your honor's humble to commaund,

Ro. Pecok.

It wilbe verye good to call Jerome Horsaye home, but it muste be done wyth his credit, and beste in myne opinion by your honor's letters unto him, to put hym in hope to be imployed otherwise in her Majesties servise.

But while stating the case in all its strength against Horsey, as we find it in the statements of his enemies, we must also point out that there were motives actively at work with the Company to persuade them to press their charges against him with rigour. Horsey constantly complains of the personal enmity of the chancellor Schalkalove, and represents him as thwarting his efforts in behalf of the Company.

This minister, as appears from many papers, habitually used his great influence to defeat the concessions made in favour of the English merchants. It was natural that the Company should desire to conciliate so powerful an enemy, and they would not be very scrupulous in sacrificing any of their agents who had become obnoxious to him. That they were in

fact acting on this principle, appears from the draft of a letter to be addressed by them to Schalkalove, with the express object of disowning Horsey.[1] It was drawn up on the 13th of December, 1587, at the time when, as they assert, he had gone to Russia in order to avoid the inquiry which they had instigated into his conduct. After stating that Jerome Horsey, lately come over with the Emperor's letters to the Queen, "and with a gracious privilege graunted to us the same merchants—and (on that account) graciously used by the Queen and otherwise by all other estates regarded above his degree—in the midst of all these favors. on occasion of a complaint made to the Queen by a midwife whom he had moved the Queen to send into Russia to the Empress, hath secretly departed from London, and as it is supposed has fled into Russia," it proceeds to caution him against his "lewd practises and devises," urging him to give him no credit, nor allow him to disturbe the amity begun between the princes, or to hinder their trade, but to "use him accordinge to his desertes."

Whether it were the truth that Horsey absconded from England at the end of the year 1587, as the Company repeatedly state in their letters and memorials, in consequence of their charges against him, we may be unwilling to decide; but there is an appearance of a consciousness of something he would wish to conceal, in the fact of his being entirely silent, in his narrative, of any visit whatever to Russia at that time. His account would lead to the belief

[1] Lansdowne MS. liii, art. 19.

that, after his return to England in the beginning of 1587, he remained unoccupied at home till he was again employed by the Queen. He says,[1] "I was wearie with the holy water of the courts, as my honored good frend, Sir Francis Walsinghame, termed good words and aplaudinge commendacions; and was willing to retire myself to a more saffer privatt and quieter liff then I had spent this seaventen years past,"—when he was again called upon to return to Russia in the capacity of envoy from the Queen to the Czar's court. And he then proceeds to relate the circumstances of his mission, upon which he says he set out in April, 1589. Now it is certain from the correspondence between the Czar and Elizabeth that Horsey was in Russia in 1588, and moreover that he was sent back to England by the Czar in charge of Dr. Fletcher, in 1589: yet he makes no allusion to his having been absent from England; and we can hardly avoid concluding that his silence on the matter was the result of a feeling that he was not able to represent the circumstances of his journey at all to his advantage.

Horsey states that he set out on his last mission from Elizabeth to the Russian Czar in April, 1589. But he has certainly mis-stated the year, and we may, without hesitation, correct it to 1590.

The Czar's letter conveyed by Fletcher, in company of whom Horsey returned to England, is dated only in April, 1589; and the circumstances of his mission make it evident that it was in April, 1590, that he

[1] Travels, p. 234.

started. He commences with saying that he proceeded from England in company with Sir Orazio Pallavicino, and the Sieur de Fresne, sent respectively by Elizabeth and the French King to the German Protestant sovereigns, to procure assistance in money and troops for the latter. The French King is of course Henry the Fourth; but his predecessor's death took place only in August 1589; and his ambassador, the Sieur de Fresne, only arrived in England in that year. Moreover, the sequel of the narrative adds other proofs that the date of 1589 should be corrected to 1590.[1]

Horsey's instructions were to proceed to the courts of Denmark and Poland, on his way to Russia. At the former he was to demand the release of English merchant ships seized on the charge of false entries of goods at the custom house; and, at the Polish court, he was to negotiate for the recovery of considerable debts from Polish subjects to English merchants. He tells us that he was allowed forty shillings a day; and that at parting the Queen gave him "a litell glass of holsom bolsom, part of that Sir Francis Drake had geaven to be verie precious and soveraine against poyson and hurts." He was also honoured with "her Majesty's pictur, cutt in a fair blew saphire, which she wished him to wear in remembrance of her Grace." Setting out then in April 1590, he sailed direct to Stoade, where he parted with his fellow travellers,

[1] Conclusive evidence of the true date is obtained from letters passing between the French ambassador and his own court in reference to the mission of the Sieur de Fresne and Sir Orazio Pallavicino, preserved in the Egerton MS. 8, ff. 51, *et seqq.*

and proceeded towards Cologne, having been instructed to attend the expected Diet there, and to report its proceedings to the government. At Hamburg and Lubeck he caused his man to affix early in the morning to the town-house door the Queen's proclamation, in Latin and German, prohibiting those and the other Hanse towns from exporting arms or victuals into Spain. Arriving at Cologne, he learned that the Diet had been adjourned. He accordingly returned, and passed by Wismar and Rostock to Copenhagen; where he seems to have been successful in the discharge of that part of his mission. Leaving Copenhagen he proceeded to Warsaw. After relating the particulars of his negotiation with the Polish government, he goes on to describe an interview he had with Queen Ann, daughter of Sigismond the First, and widow of the late King, Stephen Bathory (to whom she had been married in her 60th year). He had obtained admission to the court of the "hard-favoured widow" disguised in the livery of one of his own servants. He was recognized and called forward from the circle by the Queen, who held a conversation with him on the character of Queen Elizabeth; and who, on dismissing him, was particular in inquiring how his ruffs were starched. From Warsaw Horsey continued his journey to Vilna, in Lithuania, where he was honourably received about the 12th of June, by the Vaivode Christopher Radzivil, who, to enhance his own dignity in the eyes of his subjects, persuaded Horsey to allow himself to be entertained in the character of an envoy. Passing through

Lithuania, Horsey at length reached Smolensk. Here he heard that the Czar and the Protector had taken offence at his mission to the King of Poland, and his visit to the great Duke of Lithuania. He was suffered, however, to proceed to Moscow, which he reached at the end of June.

The result of this mission to the Russian court Horsey relates more fully in a separate paper, which we have printed as an appendix to his general narrative. It could hardly have been expected to be other than a failure. Returning, as the special envoy of his sovereign, to a country from which he had been recently expelled by the government, and bearing letters and instructions drawn up in terms of the most offensive haughtiness, it is not to be wondered at that Horsey met with an indifferent reception. A certain courtesy was at first shewn him. Suitable lodging and allowances were assigned him; but these he declined. He was instructed to accept of none until he had delivered his mistress's letters and treated of the matters in his commission. The chancellor, Schalkalove, at the first, made overtures of reconciliation, which Horsey prudently disregarded. He hoped to bear him down by the resolute tone of his instructions and the support he trusted to receive from Boris Godunow. The difficulties of his position, however, were great, and subsequent events increased them. His attempts to gain an interview with the Czar were baffled by repeated postponements; and he was at length obliged to open his commission to the council. At the instigation of his enemy, Schalkalove, exception was

taken to Elizabeth's letters—"Thear was faulte found with the sealle, being but the sygnete, and espesyally with the shorte stylle, and that they were not in that usuall languag which her Majestie was wonte to writ in." There was ground for this latter objection. It will be seen by the document itself that Elizabeth had put no restraint on her imperious humour in its composition. She desires the Czar to reconsider the matter of his last letter, sent by Dr. Fletcher, and then proceeds to reproach him for the ill-usage of her ambassador and the disfavour shewn to her merchants, in these terms[1]:—

"The sodene alteracione of your brotherly love professed towardes us, in usinge our late ambassadore, Gylles Flechere, so basely as the lyke hathe not byne served or used to any of ours by the greateste prince of Europe, and the injurious usage of our sayd ambassador by a cheefe offycere of yours, your chauncelore, one Shalkan, who shewethe himselfe an aunciente enemy to our subjectes, and yet appoynted, as we are informed, judge and party in thos matteres our ambassadore was to treate of, dothe give us juste cause to suspecte that your Highnes nether was nor is so well affected towardes us as wee deserved and appertaynethe to our place and qualletye. The great dishonor sondry wayes shewed towardes our princely Highnes, and the manyfold and uncessante injuryes done unto our subjectes tradinge into your kyngdomes, since the deathe of owr lovinge brother, your late father, Emperore Ivan Vasilewich, of famos memorye, are many; which wee of our princely patience did ever suppresse, thynkyng that they woulde have byne stayed and remedyed by your princely and brotherly love you proffess to beare towardes us. But nowe, beinge broughte unto

[1] See the entire letter in Appendix II, p. 297.

suche an extremetye that wee can hardly any longer indure them, although very harde, espessyallye beinge suche grose injuryes, for our princelye nature to digeste or put upe at the handes of any prince lyvinge under the sonne. And therefore wee desyre to understand your answer herin, whether they are done by your princely knoledge, or by suche as are in offyce under your Majestie, that dothe rather wishe enemetye than the contynuance of brotherly love and frendshipe betwen us."

She then alludes to her imployment of Horsey in despite of the Czar's expressed displeasure towards him, which she attributes to malicious reports invented by enemies envious of his Majesty's previous favour shewn to him. In the articles drawn up under the direction of her Majesty, and which Horsey was instructed to present as demands on behalf of both the Queen herself and the Company, the same violent tone is maintained, and the services rendered by England to the Russian government in protecting their country from attempts of their enemies by sea, and in supplying them with ammunition and stores, are dwelt on with much emphasis.

As the whole matter at issue between the two courts is fully stated in them, and they are therefore the best exponent of the objects of Horsey's mission, we take the opportunity of exhibiting a further specimen of the style in which Elizabeth, under the influence of a presumed affront, could authorize her ministers to address the sovereign of a great empire.[1]

[1] From the State Paper Office, Russian Correspondence. The articles appear not to have been received in their present form by Horsey from the Queen, but to have been drawn up by himself from written instructions given him at his departure from England. See Appendix V, p. 361.

"Elizabeth, by the grace of God Quene of Englande, Fraunce and Irland, Defender of the fathe, etc., to the most mightie Lord Emperowr and Great Ducke Theodore Ivanowich, of all Russia, etc. Requiringe of your Majesty a resolute aunswer upon these articles followinge.

"1. First. Wheras your Majesty sendinge a Dutch man[1] as your messinger with letters unto our Highnes, referringe the matter therin conteyned unto our Majesty's judgment and opinion, and that yt should so rest untill our aunswer were geven therin, the which with all conveyniante spede we did. But the said matters were fully determyned and prosecuted longe before the said messingers retorne with our princly letters; which is against the law of all nations, whille the messinger is in comunication to determen of the causes absolutlye.

"2. Wee sendinge our Hightnes ambassadour, Giles Fletcher, to your Majesty, he could not be excepted for an ambassador, not only abased but greatlie abused, his letters and messadge was demaunded from him and could not be permyted unto your Majesty's presence in the space of half a yer.

"3. Our Hightnes said ambassador beinge thus kept as a prysoner within dores by watchmen of very base callinge, was not permyted to treat of our princlie causes with your Majesty's counsalle, but very reprochfully was put over princepally to an offycer, upon whome he was to compleyne for dyvers gross abuses. So the said officer became judge and partie himself to receave and answer at his owne will and pleasure; by which permitans he procecuted his longe atempted oportunytey against our subjects, to our Majesty's great indignitey.

"4. Wee, of our princlie love and good will towards you our most lovinge brother, comaunded a delectable present to be sente unto your Highnes; ourselves beinge then in the most bussyest tyme of our wars with the Spaniards. We

[1] Reginald Beckman.

acknowledge the orderinge thereof not comendable nor agreable to our Highnes pleasur, when we understood therof; but yete the thinge not beinge so base but smaler valewe hath and doth pass betwene princes wher love and frendshipe remayneth. The thinge rejected and disdayned in most dishonorable sort, and retorned with oprobrious speches publyckly, not respectinge the brotherly love your Highnes professed unto our Majesty; which might farr better agreed with your princly honnour to have geaven a brotherly and pryvat advertismente of the dislycke therof. But if your Majesty had ever at any tyme sente unto our Highnes the tenth part of the valew therof, and meat in no worse sort then that was, our princly Majesty would have excepted therof, not in respect of the thinge itself, but of the excelency from whome yt was presented.

" 5. The priveleges sent unto us for the use of our subjects, as a tocken of your brotherlie love towards us, was offered to be frustrated and not alowed of; which wee thought a thinge inrevocable of so mightie a prince. The comodytey therof to you wards not to be compared unto the hight exceptance our princly Majesty gave therof, and as reddy to bestowe the lycke and lardger upon your Majestys subjects, or any other gratification in lewe therof that might be exceptable to your Highnes; ever carieng that princlie mynde with us, not purposinge to let rest in oblyvion any kynde or brotherlye pleasur your Majesty should shew unto us or ours in any respect.

" 6. Wee requiringe our naturall subjects lyving ther in your kyngdoms without our Majesty's pleasur, some escapinge for haynous crymes comytted, other some deceavinge the merchaunts being greatly in ther depts, they ar ther deteyned and maynteyned by your officers, beleaving themselves very disorderly to both our princly dishonors, some forced to be rebaptised anew, being ons alreddy receaved into Christianytey by baptisme; the permitans apereth a flatte

dishonnor to God, the partie not able to render a reasone substanciall of his ignorant folly, otherwise then for lacke of grace to purchose his lewde lyberty therbye.

"7. Also we tacke yt not the least dishonnour shewed unto our princly Hightnes that ther should be a servant taken by vyolence so openly from our ambassador,[1] and thinckinge to escape the daingers of dew punishment for his lewd lif. Joyninge with the instigation of such his lycke, forged a fals invension against his master whome he served, pretended in the presence of our ambassador and other substanciall merchants the said ambassador's othe and the merchants wytnesses refused; nether the partie his master coulde be belyved, but the boye's only fals information credited and tocke place, and rewarded, to the evill example of all suche as would herafter atempt the lycke vyllanye.

"8. The entertainment that our Hightnes ambasodours and messingers receave of your Majesty is not agreable to our princly qualytey, and not such as we shew unto your ambassadors and messingers of what qualitey soever they be of, which we refer to ther owne reports. Yea, we ar credably informed that your Majesty maketh more estimation of other princes of meanour qualitey; Heathens, Tartors, Turcks, &c., receave better exceptance then ours in all respects. To declare the particulers wherin were over tedious: if we should use the lycke to any nation, representing the Majesty of a prince, we should accompt it in our selves not comendable.

"Wee desire of your Hightnes to consider of these viii. articles her brieflie sett downe, collected owt of dyvers others which we make no mencion of here. Wee have a longe tyme kyvered them with our princly pacience, preinge you to yeld your princly censur with yourself, whether we have just cause to complaine or fynde our selves agreved with these grose ingores or noe, or whether yt wer tolarable by

[1] Jerome Horsey.

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you if we should shew the lest of them towards your Majesty; and the lycke were never offered of noe prince towards us, no not of our gretest enymies; and althought they ar hardly to be disgested of any princly nature, yet have we not ben desirous of revenge or breach of brotherly ametey. But yt may please you to understand that we have had the oportunytey dyvers weys, and yrnestely instigated therunto by sundry princes, your neightbors and enymes, whoe, knowinge and felinge our strenght by sea, would not, nea durst not, atempt yt themselves withowt our princly permyttance, they meaninge to spoyll and rase your inhabitants in the northe, Pechinga [Petschenza], Varzega [Barzuga], Colla, Solloveskae, Une [Onega ?], Nonop (?), and others, as Pechora, Novazemla, and that side, and to stope your subjects trade for saltte, fishe, oyell, sabls, &c., by sea, that noe one boate should come owt and in the ryver Dwina. Also that no straingers might come to trade into your domynons by shippinge; as apered by the open prectise thereof of very late yers, when ther were sente thre gallyes of warr and four ships with 200 men in each, well furnished with ordinance, of purpose cominge upon your northe coasts; robbed and spoyled all such your subjects they could come by, and tocke Netherland ships and goods. Wee understandinge of thier pretence comanded our merchants ships to ley weyt for them. They met and fought together; rescued not only your subjects and goods, but also the Netherlanders and ther ships; soncke and spoyled dyvers of them. Also, of latte, another, pretending to spoyle Pechora, was lyckwise put from ther purpose, and yearly ther ar being some by stelth abowt your coasts watching ther oportunytey. Thus putting the enymey from your coasts, thier purposes and prectices oftentymes prevented only by our forces, althought not her resyted, hath bryd cause of offence betwene the easteren princes and us. But we, alwaies preferringe the observation of brotherly love and frendshippe professed betwen us, gave no eare to ther

often messadges, but contynewally permyttinge our subjects to transport into your kingdomes, powder, saltpeter, leade, brimstone, copper, leade, tynn, silver, gold, and suche lycke; which your father, of famous memory, did take himself greatlie beholdinge unto us for, althought nowe not so acknowledged of you, for that it stoed him in more steed in the tyme of his Majesty's famous conquests. His Hightnes accompted of us alwaies, althought a far neyghtbour yet a nere and a sure frend, as by proef did apere. For the King of Swethia often anoyeinge the passadge by sea towards the Narve, yerly his ships of warr robbinge and spoilinge the Lubeckers, Danes, Frenchmen, Hollanders, &c., your said father, of famous memory, desyred us that we should send our princly ships of warr to remedye the spoyle that the Swethian made in the easteren seas; which we willingly graunted unto, and sent certeyne of our warlycke ships, acompanyed with other of our merchants apoynted for the purpose; fought with the wholle flete of the enymes princepall ships, soncke dyvers, spoyled the most part of the rest, and reserved some 150 of the princepall actors, which our subjects brought and presented to your father, of famous memory, Ivan Vazilewiche, Lord Emperor, and great Ducke of all Rusya, at the Narve, where then was execution done upon them.[1] By thes means the Swethian shipps durst not come forth, and as longe as our shipps used those seas, the passadge was clered, and great trafique was at the Narve by all nations in quiete tyme.

"The trewth and present memory of these things will manifest yt self; which if they were not yet in regester as a terrour with the Swethian, Dane, Lubecker, etc., they would not feare to atempt the lycke in the north seas. Yet do we forbide none to come peacably by weye of trafique into your kingdoms, althought wee have some reasone therunto, for that our subjects were the first founders of that

[1] The event referred to took place in the year 1570.

passadge, with lose of many a mans life and goods, and the mayntenance therof to this day; and we thincke that no nation whatsoever will presume to pass the seas of purpose, against our princly favour. Wee vaunt not of these things, nether of them as threats, but to helpe your princly memorie to consider that your brotherlye love towards us is not such as our watchfulle frendships towards you have deserved; nether cane your Majesty chardge our princlie Hightnes with any one such discortesy or cause of breach of brotherlye amytey. But your Highnes may perceave we have hetherto caried a constant care for the preservation therof; and therefore we do requier that as your Majesty dothe tendar the preservation of your owne honnour, so maye ther not be cause geven to impeache our princly dignytey.

"The Companye of Marchants our subjects tradinge into your kyngdomes have made knowen unto our Majesty many grevences, emongest which ther ar brieflye here colected but a fewe of them, aquaintinge your Majesty with the manner and coerse that hathe bene procecuted therin; desyringe of your Hightnes redrese therof, in such sorte that we may be perswaded yt is agreable to princly and trewe justice.

"1. There hath bene of late very disordourly seased upon the merchants generall great somes of money by pretence of depts owinge particulerly by one Anthony Marsh to your subjects, which was a counterfeyt thinge and prectise betwene them and the said Marshe, not aperteyning at all to our merchants the Companye, he havinge a particuler trade, a particular priveledge, a particulere howse and a particuler maintenans against all our merchants; whiche thinge, if it be so alowed of, the said Companie may as well challenge of your generall subjects theyr just depts owinge them by particular men of the same nation, the one beinge of as substanciall a condicion as the other. The some exacted upon them is 7,900 roubles, and the bills yete remaininge in the credytors hands.

"2. Also the said Companie of merchants made request they might be paid the dept the said Marshe did owe unto them, beinge abowt 1800 robles, owt of the xv thousand robles, your Majesty's officer, A. Shalkan, receavad into his hands of the said Mershes, in cloth, leade, saltpeter, wynes, sabls, saltt and other comodyts, as particulers aperreth; which xv thousand robls our merchants requier not, for that the said Shalkan ment to pay the said Mershes depts and gathered them to himself for that purpose.

"3. Item. The valewe of the goodes lastly robbed from the said Companies factor, Richard Proctor, upon the Volga ryver, by your Majesty's subjects cominge in company with them, which goods were all recovered of the captaines and theves by Andrew Shalkan, well knowen, who doth as is said injoye the same, beinge abowte 3400 robels.

"4. Also, the rest of the said Companyes goodes and money seased and taken from ther factor John Chapell, for pretence of his particuler offence; which you of your princly favour forgave and promised by your Majestys letters, extant with us, that you had geven ordour for our sacke yt should be all redelyvered, which is not to this daye. Wee esteme your princly word and promis as sewer as paymente, not doupting but that your Hightnes will now cause yt to be dischardged withowt longer regeser. The said Andrew Shalkan receaved all into his hands, as by dew proef aperreth, by noate 3800 robles.

"5. The fyringe of the Companies howse at Colmogour was well knowen to be a purposed prectise of your Majesty's subjects, which, if ther agent had not ben upholden in your cytty Mosco so longe extraordinarily, he hade come longe before that tyme to have shipped the same goods therin burnt, wherby dyvers of ther ships retorned empty; so that ther lose and hinderancs is aleaged to be above 2,700 robls.

"6. There is yerly forsablely layed upon the saied Companie by your Majesty's offycers wax for great somes at an

extreme price, wherby they lose muche in the transportation therof; a comodytey they were wonte to bestowe ther money one, beinge at a reasonable price before this restraint was made; as also they would injoyne them to a greater inconvenyans to geve saltpeter in leu of the wax, at a base price, which comodytey is not originally growinge in our realmes in suche quantitey to be transported more then serveth our princly provicion.

"Your princly letters of priveledge, whiche you of your Hightnes brotherlie love towards us did send unto us for theire use, is not ratifyed nor confirmed to stand in effect. They ar threatned of many imposytions and taxes, as howse rents and other, whiche fredoms your Majesty hath alwaies aledged as a speciall favor and noate of difference your Majesty ever had and held betwen the English merchants and other nations; and they complaine of many hard dealings towards them by your officers, that a faulte unadvised at any tyme commytted is procecuted upon them with rigour, not weying that they are straingers, and that ther folly is for want of experience, whiche might be kyvered withe wisdome and leanacy. We would the said offycers should knowe that they ar not a people destitute of such a princes, but hath dew care for the preservation of her subjects and to defend them in theyr rightfull causes.

"Here may your Majesty perceave as well the formour artycles towchinge our princly estatte as also these latter conserning our merchants declareth itselfe of great importance, requiringe a far greter treates and ambassadge. But for that this our messinger in whome we repose great trust, and have geven suffycient comission requisit in suche effears, as [by] our princly letters unto your Majesty apereth, whoe beinge fully aquainted with your Highnes ordors and of suffyciency to judge of the reasonable aunswers that shal be produced herin, beinge all done in the tyme of his abode in your kingdoms, hee shal be perswaded of all matters on both

sids farr better then by any other wee should have imployed wantinge his experience. And therfore wee expect and requier from your Majesty a full determynete and resolute aunswer by him towchinge all the particularytes of the said promises.

"*Delyvered the 4th of August*, 1590, *in the Musco, unto the Emperoꝛ's hight Treasewrour, Demenshoye Ivanowiche Cherimissen, the officer of Ambassages, Andrew Shalkan, and Posnyck Demetriove, by the Emperours ordour and Boris Fedorowiches.*"

Horsey was not admitted to an audience, although the Queen's letters were received by the Czar, and the articles referred to the consideration of the ministers. At the time when these were under discussion an embassy was expected from Poland; and orders were given to Horsey that on the "very same day the sayd ambassadore should come into the sytty of Mosco, must I depart the same with my company; fearinge accordinge to their jellous humore leste thear should happen some intercourse between us." He was directed to retire to Yaroslav, where he arrived in November, and remained there till the following June. This withdrawal from the capital was fatal to Horsey's mission. The opportunity of his absence was used to the utmost by his enemy Schalkalove, who succeeded in making it believed that he had betrayed the Czar's secrets to the King of Poland and to the Duke of Lithuania; had disdained the Czar's allowance; and had purposed to have "hindered the Emperor of his customs."

Horsey[1] made an effort to influence Prince Boris

[1] See Appendix V, p. 356.

Godunow in his favour, by a letter, written from Yaroslav on the 21st of November, 1590, in which he justified the severity of the Queen's letters, and made a personal appeal to him as one in whom her Majesty had confidence as the befriender of her subjects, and also in respect to the services which he had owned to have received at Horsey's own hands. He reminded him of his letter, written the previous year, promising him his constant favour and protection, and added—

"I would have thought yt impossible that the kynde and favorable good natur I ever founde in your lordship should have been so perverted as it is, and your lordship's favore and kyndnes would alwaies have ben of more force then the mallice of any perticuler man whosoever."

In April 1591, in despair of any further success in his mission, Horsey wrote, from Yaroslav, to Lord Burghley, reporting what had taken place since his arrival in Russia; and begging that the Queen would again write to the Czar in terms similar to those of her last letters, to disprove Schalkalove's assertion that they had not been authorized by her Majesty, and also would confirm the articles he had presented in her name; by which means he hopes that matters may be expedited, and that he may be enabled to return home. Adding as reasons for desiring to do so, his heavy expenses—his being "betrothed to an honest gentleman's daughter in Buckinghamshire long since"—his loss of time—and "the doubt I have of my enymie Shalkan."

On the 10th of June, 1591, he addressed a second

letter, from Yaroslav, to Lord Burghley, in which he states that of late her Majesty's affairs had been again under consideration of the government, and had been treated of during the 17th and 18th of May, and that he had been on the point of being recalled to Moskow; but that

"upon the 19th of the same [month] a most unfortunate chaunce befell the yonge prince of ix yers adge, sone unto the old Emperor and brother unto this; [who] was cruelly and trecherously murdered, his throte cutt in the presence of his dere mother the Emperis; with other such lyke most prodigious matter, which I dare not wryte of."

The event here spoken of is the assassination of the young Prince Demetrius, who, as presumptive heir to the throne, would, on the death of his brother, the then Czar, have stood in the way of the projects of Boris Godunow, and who had now fallen a victim to his ambition. At the time of his murder, the Prince Demetrius was under the care of his mother, the Empress Dowager, at Ouglitch, about twenty-five miles from Yaroslav. Horsey relates an anecdote in reference to his death in the following words:—

"One night I comended my soull to God above other, thinckinge verily the tyme of my end was com. One rapt at my gate at midnight. I was well furnished with pistolls and weapons. I and my servants, some fifteen, went with these weapons to the gate.—'O my good frend, Jerom innobled, lett me speak with yow.'—I saw by moon shine the Emperis brother, Alphonassy Nagoie.... 'The Charowich Demetries is dead: his throate was cutt about the sixth hower by the deaches [*diacks*]; some one of his pagis confessed upon the racke by Boris his settinge one; and the

Emperis poysoned and upon pointe of death, her hear and naills and skin falls of: hælp and geave some good thinge, for the passion of Christ his sake!'—I ran up, fætched a littell bottell of pure sallett oyell (that littel vial of balsom that the Quen gave me) and a box of Venice treacle.—'Here is what I have, I praie God it maye do her good.'—Gave it over the wall; who hied him post awaie."

The confusion which ensued in the capital upon this terrible event put an end to all hope of a settlement of the matters of Horsey's mission. Boris Godunow wrote to him that he was unable to further his wishes as he desired[1]; that when opportunity offered he would work him favour in as ample manner as ever, but that there were stumbling-blocks to be removed first; offering him in the mean time what assistance he might need in money. On the 6th of July, Horsey received intimation that, although the Czar had intended to have received him in person to give his answer to the Queen's letters, his Majesty's mind was altered by reason of "the greate disquietnes of late happened amongeste his people." Letters were sent, in answer to those of which he had been the bearer from the Queen, and he was escorted down the Dwyna to St. Nicholas, where he embarked for England, and arrived at the court at Richmond on the 4th of October, 1591.

The letters in which the Czar replied to the sharp epistles of Elizabeth, conveyed by Horsey, enter so much into the conduct of both Horsey and Fletcher, while communicating the concessions made in favour of the Company, and are moreover so entertaining in

[1] Travels, p. 225.

their grave reference to the whimsical grievances of the folding and sealing of the Queen's letters to the Czar, and the abridgement of his formidable length of titles, that we introduce them in full, as translated by Horsey himself. The violent denunciations of Horsey, breaking out again and again in different parts of the document, are confirmation of his assertion that they were drawn up by the redoubted Andreas Schalkalove himself. It will be observed, moreover, that the forbearance stated to have been shewn towards Horsey, who is pronounced to have deserved death, and the privileges conceded to the Company, are distinctly ascribed to the protecting influence of Boris Godunow.

"*Theodore Ivanowich, Emperor of Russia, to Queen Elizabeth.*[1]

"To our lovinge sister Elizabeth, Queene of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, etc.

"Throughe the tender mercie of God whereby the day springe from on highe hath visited us, thereby to guyde our feete in the waye of peace, Wee Theodore Ivanowich, Greate Lorde Kinge and Greate Duke of all Russia, of Volodomer, Musko and Novoghorod, Kinge of Casan and Astracan, Lorde of Volsko and Greate Duke of Smolenske, Otver, Ughorie, Perme, Viatske, Bolghorie and other places, Lord and Greate Duke of Novoghorod in the lowe contry, of Chernigho, Razan, Polotske, Rostove, Yaroslavle, Beloozero and Lifland, of Owdorske, Obdorske, Condinske, and Commaunder of all Seberlande and the North Costes, Greate Lorde over the contrye of Ivenskie, Griesinsky, Emperour of Kaburdinskie and of the contrie Churkasky and the contrie

[1] From the State Paper Office—Russian Royal Letters.

of Gorskie, and Lorde of manie other cuntries, to our moste dearelie beloved sister Elizabeth of Englande, Fraunce, Ireland and of other kingdomes, greetinge. We have heretofore, lovinge sister, wrote our letters unto you by your Majesties ambassadour, Gyles Fletcher, together with our answere delyvered him by our councell touchinge Hierom Horsey, whoe hath lyved in our kyngdome amongest your Highnes marchaunts as theire factour, behavinge himself in our sayde dominions very disorderlie and badlie. He hath written unto his companions and men of his consorte, to the place of the arryvall of shippes at our portes, letters touchinge the preparation of shippes for the enterpryse of piracye and robberye of such merchauntes as shoulde have accesse for traffique to our kingdomes and dominions uppon the ryver Dwina; which letters are extante under his owne hande, and are enterpreted by one of your Majesties subjectes, John Sowter, whoe was enterpreter to your ambassadour Gyles Fletcher.

Horsey charged with practyse with Trumbull for enterceptinge of Duche shippes that come to St. Nicholas.

"He hath vaunted that he shoulde be imployed by your Majestie as an ambassadour before Gyles Fletcher. He hath spoken of our kingdomes, of us and of you our lovinge sister Queene Elizabeth, dyvers and sondry thinges not fitt to be comitted to wrytinge, which by examination we have founde oute, and therewith accuaynted your ambassadour, Gyles Fletcher. He hath also committed many other unseemelie actes in our kingdome. He hath moved much contention and controversie betweene our merchauntes and yours with his lewde practises. For all which his behaviour he hath deserved death. But our Majestie for your Highnes sake, lovinge sister Queene Elizabeth, was contente to let him passe, and sente him to your Majestie by your ambassadour Gyles Fletcher, accordinge to your requeste mentioned in your letters. And therewith wrote to your Majestie that the sayde Hierom shoulde be noe more permitted to have to doe with our people nor with your marchauntes, neyther

Horseys evell behaviour in speeches dishonorable and not fytt to be sett downe in wrytinge.

betwixte your Majestie and us, to thend that our love and amety might not be impeached by the practice of suche a seditious person.

"All which notwithstandinge, afterwards, the year folowinge, this Hierom Horsey, whoe before lyved heare as your marchaunts factour, committinge many lewde attempts and movinge much controversie, cometh into our kingdome as your Majesties ambassadour, not the ordinarie way that he shoulde have comme, but throughe Polonia and Lettowe, and soe to our border towne of Smolensky. The Kinge of Polonia and Lettowe and we beinge bent uppon treaty of peace and unetie, and beinge uppon the borders of our contry, gave himself a contrary name. Notwithstandinge, our officers uppon the borders knewe him to be Hierom Horsey, that lewde fellowe which we sente oute of our kyngdome for his evil behaviour. We wrote unto you, loving sister, our owne letters concerninge him, that you would not heareafter uppon any occasion send into our contry such a lewde villain as he is. In his cominge hetherwarde it is well knowen unto us what he did in Polonia and Lettowe, where he used such speeches of us and our kingdome as were not meete for him to deale in, for which his behaviour he deserved to have beene putt to death. But we make noe accompte of theime, but for your Majesties sake comitted him as our manner is to the custodie of our aucthorised people, and commaunded your letters to be receyved at his handes and his message to be heard to thende.

Horseys comming overlande throughe Polonya misliked.

Horseys evell behaviour deserveth deathe.

"And as for your Majesties letters, they were directed to us the Emperour, abridginge our stile and tytles of honor, which heretofore your Majestie in other your letters expressed at large. Your sayde letters were sealed with your signet or small seale, which Hierom Horsey sayde was the seale of your Majesties treasury. Unto our Majestie, our brother Saldan the Turke, the Romayne Emperor, and other

The mysliking of the abridgement of his style and tytles of honour, and the smallnes of the seale.

greate princes, writt unto us with all our style and tytles of honor at large, and doe seale their letters with theire greate seale of Majestie; and we doe the lyke to your Majestie and to those greate princes, and wryte our letters with your whole style, and seale theime with our greate seale. And thoughe these greate princes houlde brotherlie love and ametie with us, yet we looked for greater love and ametie of you our lovinge sister, Queene Elizabeth, such as was betweene your Majestie and the greate Lord and Emperor, the greate Duke John Vasillewich of all Russia, our father.

The Emperour justefiethe the enterteynment of the ambassador, Mr. Fletcher, to be honorabell.

"In the same your letters, lovinge sister, Queen Elizabeth, you writte unto us concerninge your ambassadour, Gyles Fletcher, as thoughe he shoulde have beene dishonorablie used by our aucthorised people, and otherwyse then your Majesties former amabassadors have been used here; and as thoughe our love and affection towardes your Majestie shoulde be otherwyse then it oughte to be; wherein you require our answere whether we were acquaynted with his usage. Yf your Majestie will knowe our answere, his usage by our aucthorised people was well knowen unto us: and is this the cause of your sendinge hether of your messenger Hierom Horsey? Firste as concerning Hierom Horsey, lovinge sister Queene Elizabeth, you writt unto us as thoughe all things of him heretofore reported were untrewe, that we shoulde forgeate all former displeasure towards him, to whom you geve the creditte to delyver by worde of mouth that which you have geven him in commission: according to which commission Hierom Horsey had hearinge before our counsaill, concerninge your ambassador Gyles Fletcher, and concerninge the presentes sente unto us from you our lovynge sister by him, which we recyved not, and concerninge your marchaunts trade, that we shoulde be gracyous unto theime as before time, accordinge to our former letters of priveledges graunted unto theime, that the same shoulde houlde and continewe withoute alteration; and that we shoulde sende

away all such of your subjects as abyde here wethoute your Majesties licence; concerninge the debte of your Majesties marchaunts that our subjects and people recovered of theme, as thoughe Anthony Marshe had beene none of theyre company and the debte layde uppon your sayde marchaunts withoute cause, and that Marshe had onlie dealings for himself. We were once of that mynde not to have receyved your letters, for that they were not directed and sealed as they were woonte to be accordinge to your former course used to our father of famous memory, John Vasillewich, Greate Duke of all Russia, and as all other princes doe wryte unto us with our style at large, and not as the letters broughte by Hierom Horsey; yett at the requeste of our brother-in-lawe, master of our horse and cheof councellour, governour of teritories of Casan and Astracan, Boris Fedorowich Goedunove, we have receyved your letters; and certen of our councell have hearde the speeches of your servaunte Hierom; whereat we wonder, the same beinge not answerable to our leage and ametye, expectinge noe such matter from you; but we are of opinion that these thinges are written by some of your secretories withoute your privetie. The sayd letters make mention of greate dishonour doone to your embassadour, Gyles Fletcher, as thoughe therin we respected not your love and amety. If eyther he or any other enforme your Majestie untrewlie of us they doe not well, neyther doe they wishe the continuance of our brotherlie ametie. We for our parte, lovinge sister Queene Elizabeth, wishe the continuance of our former love and ametie with an encrease thereof, and such as was in the tyme of our sayd father of famous memory. And as for your ambassadour, Gyles Fletcher, he had as much honour showed unto him as hath beene shewed to your former ambassadors. And concerning the affayres whereof he treated, wherein by your letters you wished us to give him the lyke creditt as to yourself, he was hearde

That the Emperor would not have red the Queenes letters but at the request of the Lorde Boris Fedorowich.

at large by our treaserour, John Vasillewich Truhannotova, and by our principall secretarie Andrea Shalcan, whoe treated with him of all causes. And after that, we gave order to your sayde ambassador, Gyles Fletcher, to repaire to John Vasillewich Goedenova, our deputie of our territories of Resansko, and to John Vasillowich Shysko, and to others of our especyall councellors, with whom he discoursed of all matters and doleances whatsoever; and amongest other matters of those verletts Hierom and Anthony, that all discontentment mighte be shutt uppe; wherein, lovinge sister, appeared our love and favour towards you, althoughe your ambassadors demaunds were greater then hertofore have beene moved touching your marchaunts. He required that we shoulde be gratious unto theime in gevinge theime our princly priviledge anewe with an enlargement, the which we graunted. And, for your Majesties sake, we were soe gratyous to your marchaunts that we appointed our letters of priveledge to be enlarged throughout all our kingdomes, and to Casan, Astracan, and beyonde the Caspian Sea, into the kingdome of Persia, and Bogharia and Shamaky, and notified the same unto all our customers and officers in our empire concerninge your Majesties marchaunts, gevinge theime libertie to traffique and trade in such sorte as noe nation doe the lyke: all which we have doone for the greate love we beare unto you our lovinge sister, Queene Elizabeth. Of all thes thinges we wrotte unto you in our letters sente by your said ambassador, Gyles Fletcher, which letters it maybe he hath not delyvered nor made your Majestie acquaynted therewith. Muche dishonour hathe beene spoken and untruthes devysed againste your Majestie by this messenger, this verlett Hierom Horsey; notwithstandinge we have doone him noe disgrace, and if he reporte otherwyse it is an untruth. We have geven him here large allowance above others; his message hath beene the longer unanswered by reason of our greate occasions. Concerninge your pre-

Libertyes enlarged.

sents broughte by your ambassador, they were not such as they shoulde be, and we for our parte when we sende our ambassador will lykewyse abate of ours.

That the judgement geaven agninst the merchaunts, touching Marshes debtes, was just and favorable to the merchaunts.

"We deseyre moste lovinge sister that brotherlie love and ametie may be continued betwixte us. And whereas you, lovinge sister, writt unto us in your letters by Hierom Horsey, and gave him order by worde of mouth touchinge your marchaunts debtes, as thoughe there had beene layde uppon theyme greate debtes of Anthony Marshes without cause, alledginge that Anthonie traded by himself and not with the Company, whereof we wrotte you heretofore at large notais, and also satisfied your ambassadour at large, gevinge him our order in wrytinge that we tooke in that matter; wherein wee thinke we shewed our specyall love and kyndnes towardes you our lovinge sister, that where a greate somme of money by billes of your subjects was dewe, we abated to our subjects the half of theire very principall; it is verifyed that Anthony Marshe borowed the money together with your marchaunts agent, and dwelte together with theime in one house: notwithstandinge, for your sake, loving sister, and at the requeste and petition of our brother in lawe Boris Fedorowich, master of our horse, governour of Cassan and Astracan, [we] did cause our officers houshoulde, servaunts and merchauntes, to accepte of the sayde debtes the one half, and have abated the other half, and have caused the billes to be delyvered to your merchaunts. And whatsoever was owinge by your subjects to your merchaunts we order that the same shoulde be paid. Thus have we beene gratyous to your marchaunts and geoven theyme libertie to trade into our kingdome withoute payinge any custome, and for theire agent and factors that remayne in our kingdome we have geven order that great care be had of theme. Our said brother in lawe, master of our horse, Boris Fedorowich, by our order in that behaulf geoven him, wil be and is carefull for theime in all causes, and also our other officers of

That the merchaunts shall lyve in Russia under the protection of the Lord Boris Fedorowich.

aucthoretie, by order and comission geoven theime to that ende. And whensoever hereafter your merchaunts shall desyre assistaunce of our officers in aucthoretie and repayreth to theime, they shal be favorable to theim and defende theime. For your Majestie wryteth your letters and referreth matters to be delyvered by worde of mouth by such a villain [as] Hierom Horsey it is [not the] course to cause our love and ametie to continewe by imploying in such affayres one that we knowe to be a villayne, and whom we sente away out of our contry for dyvers of his villanyes, gevinge him commaundement that he shoulde not returne hether againe. Therefore we writt unto you nowe agayne of the same matter, because we knowe our former letters have beene kepte from you. And our councell delyvered him to your ambassador Gyles Fletcher, to be broughte home in your Majesties disgrace, which would have appeared unto you if our letters had comme to your handes; but they were kepte backe because your officers do favour Hierom.

The Emperour semeth to doubt that the letters which the ambassadour brought over were concealed from the Queene.

"And nowe, loving sister, for your sake we have forborne to lay our displesure uppon the sayd Hierom, and have suffred him to departe agayne by the Dwina, and soe to the sea, havinge sente our letters downe to the sea syde unto your marchaunts. We pray you, lovinge sister, Queene Elizabeth, to enquire which of your secretoryes wrote your letters sente by Hierom, and which soe abridged our name and tytle, and havinge found him oute to lett him be blamed; gevinge commaundement that, when hereafter you wryte your letters to our Majestie, that you geve us our full style and tytle as heretofore you have used. There are occasions moved by your subjectes to rayse dislyke and discorde betwixte us which are not to be regarded; there hath beene betweene us love and ametie, the which we wishe to remayne and continewe as it was with our father of famous memory, the Greate Duke John Vasillewich of all Russia. And, for the sayde Hierom, he is knowen to us to be a villain, as well towards

us as to embassadours and messingers. Your merchaunts sewed not for his imployment into our dominions. Let not our love and frendshipp be hindred for him; yf you sende to us, sende your good people betwixte us, which will norishe and travell to continewe our love and ametie and to make it ferme.

That all interlopers should be sent home.

"Lovinge sister, your messinger Hierom spake unto our councell that such marchaunts as lyved here in our dominions withoute your knowledge, being your subjects, should be sente oute of our contries, the which we are willinge to yealde unto, and will geve ordèr to delyver theime over to such as you shall geve order in that behalfe. Written at the Pallace of our Empire in the citie of Musko, the yeare from the beginninge of the world 7099, in the moonth of Julie [A.D. 1591].

The reply of Elizabeth to this epistle was designed to soothe the angry feeling it expresses. Both the Queen and Lord Burghley also wrote special letters to Boris Godunow to thank him for his good services in arranging the difficulties which had sprung up between the two courts; and the royal correspondence resumed its former amicable tone. Horsey's answer to the charges contained in the Czar's letter,[1] will certainly secure his acquittal in the judgment of the impartial reader, and appears to have been accepted as a satisfactory defence by the Queen's ministers. But thenceforward his connexion with Russia was at an end.

1 Printed in Appendix V, p. 368; from the original, in the State Paper Office.

Dr. GILES FLETCHER, the author of "The Russe Common Wealth," was a native of Kent, and a member of a family illustrious in the history of English literature. His brother, Dr. Richard Fletcher, bishop successively of Bristol, Worcester and London, was the father of John Fletcher the dramatist; and one of his own sons, Phineas Fletcher, was author of the remarkable production, "The Purple Island," and other poems. He received his education at Eton College, where he was admitted a scholar in the year 1565. Having entered at King's College, Cambridge, he took a bachelor's degree in the year 1569, and the degree of LL.D. in 1581. While fellow of the College, he became embroiled in dissensions occasioned by the opposition of a portion of the members to their provost, Dr. Roger Goad, in the year 1576. Fletcher sided with the enemies of the provost, and signed a series of articles, accusing him of maladministration of the affairs of the College, and infringement of its statutes, which was laid before Lord Burghley, as chancellor of the University. The decision of Burghley was unfavourable to the provost's opponents, who were required to make a recantation of their charges, and to sign a formal submission to their superior. Many of the papers relating to this proceeding are preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum;[1] and among them are two letters of Fletcher to Burghley, written in Latin; in the former, excusing his attack upon the character and conduct

[1] Lansdowne MS. xxiii, artt. 18, *et seqq.*

of the provost;[1] and, in the latter, thanking him for his decision in the cause of dispute. He also signs, with two other of the fellows, a letter of submission to the provost, and addresses him a separate letter, in Latin.[2] Burghley's interest in the cause is evidenced in the corrections by his own hand of the form of submission dictated to the opposing fellows.[3]

Dr. Fletcher is stated by Fuller, by Birch,[4] in his history of Queen Elizabeth,[5] and by others, to have been employed as a commissioner on public affairs in Scotland, Germany and the Low Countries; but of the precise dates or other particulars of these services we have not succeeded in obtaining information. In the year 1580, he acted as commissary to Dr. Bridgewater, chancellor of the diocess of Ely. In the year 1588, he was despatched to Russia

[1] This letter, written with good feeling throughout, contains the following temperate passages, disclaiming any approval of the personal attack on the Provost, and representing the grounds for complaint of the state of the college: —

"Si quid inique, si quid petulanter ac contumeliose dictum sit (fateor autem esse quamplurima) id, non solùm non consentiente me sed et invito ac repugnante, factum esse profiteor."

"Habet nostra familia pulcherrimum florem optimæ juventutis. Vidi hunc ego pessimis exemplis depravari, nullis prœmiis incendi ad studia, multorum debilitari industriam et gravioribus suppliciis vexari, aliis contrà impunitatem concedi, qui nec ita literis, nec industria nec probitate, commendantur."—Ibid., f. 50.

[2] Ibid., ff. 42, 54. [3] Ibid., f. 83.

[4] Worthies, vol. i, p. 502. [4] Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii, p. 78. See also a letter of his brother, the Bishop of London, to Lord Burghley, in Strype's Annals, ed. 1824, vol. iv, p. 374.

[5] Cole's Collections for Cambridgeshire, Add. MS. 5808, f. 206.

as ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Czar Ivan Vasilievitch; and the treatise we are now republishing was the fruit of his studies of the government and condition of the empire on that occasion. The circumstances of his mission have been already sufficiently dwelt on in the previous pages. It is stated by Horsey that he furnished Fletcher with materials for his work. If he alludes to his account of his travels, which is now first published entire, as affording information to Fletcher, it will be readily admitted, after a perusal of his narrative, that Fletcher can be but slightly, if at all, indebted to him. But Horsey returned from Russia in company with Fletcher, and would very naturally have been communicative of his experience of the manners and institutions of the Russian people, and of general anecdotes collected during a residence there of many years: and to this extent he may probably have assisted his companion in his treatise. It is to be observed that in his Dedication of his Treatise to the Queen, Fletcher specially states that it was founded on his observation of the state and manners of Russia during his embassy there, and that he had reduced his notes "into some order, by the way as I returned." The book was published in 1591; but upon remonstrance of the Russia Company,[1] complaining of the freedom of its remarks on the government of the country and condition of its people, and the likelihood of its giving offence to the Russian court, it was quickly suppressed. Of the subsequent editions, we shall speak presently.

[1] Printed in Appendix IV, p. 352.

Fletcher had felt himself in no little personal danger in a country so rude as Russia then was, and where every man's life was at the mercy of an irresponsible monarch. Fuller recounts an anecdote in which this is recorded of him, in these words:

"Returning home, and being safely arrived at London, he sent for his intimate friend Mr. Wayland, prebendary of St. Paul's, and senior fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge (tutor to my father, from whose mouth I received this report), with whom he hastily expressed his thankfulnesse to God for his safe return from so great a danger; for the poets cannot fansie Ulysses more glad to be come out of the den of Polyphemus, than he was to be rid out of the power of such a barbarous Prince; who, counting himself by a proud and voluntary mistake *Emperor of all nations*, cared not for the law of all nations; and who was so habited in blood, that, had he cut off this embassador's head, he and his friends might have sought their own amends, but the question is, where he would have found it."

The anecdote is probably authentic; but it is unfortunate that honest Fuller should have so forgotten himself as to speak of a dead man seeking amends for his own murder!

On his return from his Russian embassy, Fletcher obtained the office of secretary to the city of London, and, at the solicitation of his brother, the Bishop of London, he was appointed an extraordinary Master of Requests in 1596.[1] He further obtained the office of treasurer of St. Paul's in the year 1597.

It has not been alluded to by any of his biographers that, in the year 1590, shortly after his return from

[1] See the Bishop's letter to Lord Burghley in Strype's Annals, already referred to. The original is in Lansd. MS. lxxxii, art. 28.

Russia, Fletcher formed the design of writing an extensive history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in Latin. With the view of making it as authentic as possible, he applied to Lord Burghley for assistance and the communication of state papers. His letter to Burghley is amongst the Lansdowne manuscripts in the British museum.[1] He not only asks for his general encouragement and aid, but consults him on his plan—especially as to whether he shall undertake to justify at length the marriage of Henry the Eighth with Anne Boleyn—and at what point he shall commence his work, whether to begin where Polydore Virgil ends, at the 30th of Henry VIII, or with his marriage with Anne Boleyn, or only with the reign of King Edward: and he forwards a scheme, in Latin, of his first book, to comprise the first year of Elizabeth's reign—with a paper of articles in which he desires information.

Dr. Richard Fletcher, Bishop of London, father of the dramatist, died in 1596, leaving his affairs in considerable confusion, and having appointed his brother Giles his executor. This charge involved him in much difficulty. He was sued for the bishop's debts, and it was owing only to the intercession of the powerful Earl of Essex with the chancellor, that he was saved from arrest.[2]

Although the circumstance is not mentioned in any of the notices of his life which we are aware of, it appears that his connexion with the Earl brought him into trouble at the time of Essex's arrest in

[1] Lansdowne MS. lxv, f. 154.

[2] Birch, Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii, p. 223.

1600. For there is extant a copy of a letter from Fletcher to Sir Robert Cecil, dated the 14th of March, 1600 [1601 ?], praying to be released from confinement, occasioned "by those fables and foolish lyes of the Earl's daunger by Sir Walter Raleigh."

It may be conjectured, from this expression, that Fletcher's offence had consisted in too openly speaking of the disgrace of the Earl of Essex (who, we have stated, had before acted as his friend) as the work of Sir Walter Raleigh's malignity; but we have not succeeded in tracing out the facts of the case. In his appeal to Cecil, he speaks of his wife and many children, his debts, and his executorship for his late brother (the Bishop of London).[1]

[1] The following is a copy of the letter:—*Dr. Flecher to Sir Robert Cecil.* Right honourable,—I humbly thank you for regarding the humble suit of my poor wyfe. Her poor estate and great distress of so many children do thus force me to mone my case, and to reveal unto your Honour my present state. My great charge and small revenue, with the executorship of my late brother, have made my debt exceed my estate, being undoon and worse then nought by 500 pounds. For discharging hereof I have no means but the present sale of my poor house wherein I dwell, and of my office, if I can assign it to some fitt man. At the quarter day I am to pay 200 pounds, upon forfeiture of double bonds. I have yet no means nor liberty to seek for means for payment of it, and I am infirm through grief of mind for this restraint, and the affliction of my wife and children. How perplexed I am for them and they for me I beseech your Honour (who art a father of so toward and happy children) to consider. Touching my fault what shall I say? I have been abused by those fables and foolish lyes of the Earles daunger by Sir Walter Ralegh. But my hart untouched and my hands clear of his wicked practices, which I knew not of, nor should discern so great a mischief under such a coulour. I will

The last notice we find of Fletcher's employment in public affairs is as a commissioner instructed by the Company of "Eastland Merchants" to treat with Dr. Jonas Charisius, the King of Denmark's ambassador, "about the required removal of the trade from the towne of Crimpe [Krempe], by the mediation of John Rolt,"[1] dated November, 1610: at least we conclude that the Dr. Fletcher referred to can be none other than our author. To this scanty biography we have only to add, that our author's death took place in the parish of St. Catherine, Coleman, London, in February, $16\frac{00}{01}$.

In addition to the treatise we are now reprinting, the following pieces are ascribed to the pen of Dr. Fletcher:—

I. "De literis antiquæ Britanniæ, Regibus præsertim qui doctrina claruerunt, quique Collegia Cantabrigiæ fundarunt:" in Latin verse. Edited by his eldest son Phineas Fletcher, Fellow of King's College; Cambridge, 12mo, 1633.

II. "A discourse concerning the Tartars, proving (in all probability) that they are the Israclites, or Ten Tribes, which, being captivated by Salmanaser, were transplanted into Media. By Giles Fletcher, Doctor of both Laws, and sometimes Ambassador from Elizabeth, Queen of England, to the Emperor of Russia." Printed from the author's

learn wisdom by this folly. My humble suit is that you will be pleased to be a mean for my discharge; or if not that, for my enlargement upon my bonds. To relieve a poor distressed family will please God, and bynde us all, besides other duties, to pray to God to bless yow and yowr. So humbly take my leave. 14 of March, 1600. Your H[onour's] most humble suppliant, G. FLETCHER. —Additional MS. 6177, p. 151.

[1] Cotton MS. Nero B. v, f. 333.

manuscript, supplied by his son Phineas Fletcher, in the "Israel redux, or the Restoration of the Jews," by Samuel Lee; London, 1677, 1679. Printed also by Whiston, in his Memoirs of his own Life; London, 1749, 1750, part I., p. 576, as an unknown work, from a MS. in Sir Francis Nethersole's library. The title is copied from this latter edition.

III. Short pieces in Latin verse; viz.—1. An eclogue on the death of Dr. Nicholas Carre; published amongst a collection of poems on the occasion, in 1571.—2. "Responsio ad versus Cleri Haddoni, quos de patris morte paulo ante suam conscripsit, Ægidii Fletcheri." Printed at the end of "Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, sparsim collectorum, libri duo;" London, 12mo, 1576. 3. "Adonis ejusdem Fletcheri;" printed with the foregoing.—4. Verses on occasion of the publication of the Prelections of Dr. Peter Baro, in 1579.—5. Verses on the motto and crest of Maximilian Brooke, eldest son of the Lord Cobham, who died in 1583, after having been educated at Cambridge, and probably by Dr. Fletcher, who, it is said, did "greatly love this gentleman."[1] Printed in Holinshed's Chronicles, p. 1512.

Of the treatise of the Russe Common Wealth, we have the following editions:

1 "Of the Russe Common Wealth; or, Manner of Government by the Russe *Emperour (commonly called the* Emperour of *Moskouia)*, with *the manners and fashions of the people of that Country.* At London—printed by T. D. for *Thomas Charde*, 1591," in 8vo, with Dedication to Queen Elizabeth, signed, G. Fletcher.

2. An abridgment, in Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations, Voyages, etc., by the English Nation;" folio, London, 1599, vol. I, p. 474. In this edition all that could have been

[1] Antiquities and papers relating to Cambridgeshire, by W. Cole, in the British Museum; Additional MS. 5808, f. 205 b.

offensive to the Russian government has been omitted; including the whole of chapter v, chapters vii to xiv, the last paragraph of chapter xviii, and the whole of chapters xxi to xxvi.

3. A reprint of the first edition, with the suppression of some of the obnoxious passages (for instance, the last paragraph of chapter x, the end of chapter xiv, and the four last paragraphs of chapter xviii), and many verbal differences; in Purchas' Pilgrims, ed. 1625, vol. III, p. 413.

4. An epitome by Harris, in his "Compleat Collection of Voyages," etc.; folio, 1705, vol. I, p. 542.

5. "THE HISTORY of RUSSIA, or The Government of the Emperour of MUSCOVIA, with the manners and fashions of the people of that countrey. By G. Fletcher, sometime fellow of King's College in Cambridge, and employed in the embassie thither. 1643." 12mo. The Dedication to Q. Elizabeth is omitted.

6. "The History of Russia, or the Government of the Emperour of Muscovia: with the manners and fashions of the people of that countrey. By G. Fletcher, sometime fellow of King's Colledge in Cambridge. London; printed by Roger Daniel for William Coope and Edward Farnham, near the Exchange, 1657."[1] 12mo.

Our present reprint is from the first edition, a copy of which was obligingly lent for the purpose by the Right Hon. Sir David Dundas.

Of Sir Jerome Horsey, whose memoirs in connexion with Russia we print as a sequel to Fletcher's treatise, we have little more to say than he has himself

[1] A copy is in the Cambridge University Library.

told us in his narrative. He was of an ancient family, of which the principal branch was seated at Clifton Maubank and Melcomb Horsey, in Dorsetshire. His father's name was William—brother, as we conjecture, to the George Horsey who settled in Digswell, in Hertfordshire,[1] and to Sir Edward Horsey, who rose to some distinction in the service of the state, and held the office of Governor of the Isle of Wight. Jerome appears to have gone out to Russia in the character of a clerk, or apprentice, to the Russia Company in the year 1573,[2] and in 1580 he was first employed as a messenger from the Czar to Queen Elizabeth. He seems to have been indebted for his selection for this honourable service to his familiarity with the Russian language, as well as to a certain tact and readiness, of which his narrative gives proof, and which won the confidence of the Czar, Ivan Vasilowitch, in an interview he had honoured him with. On arriving at the English court with the Czar's letters, he had the advantage of being introduced to the Queen by his kinsman, Sir Edward Horsey, and was countenanced by Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis Walsingham; through whose assistance he obtained access three or four several times to the Queen, and was intrusted with her letters to the Czar, on his return to Russia. We have seen that he was employed in frequent missions to and fro between the two courts, and the opportunities this service gave him of ingratiating himself with Elizabeth appear to

[1] See Hutchins' "History of Dorsetshire," vol. iv, p. 251, note K. [2] Purchas' "Pilgrimes," vol. v, p. 972.

have been turned to good account. The influence he obtained in matters relating to Russia was mainly derived from the favour he enjoyed with the powerful minister and regent, Prince Boris Godunow, brother-in-law to the Czar Fedor Ivanovitch. At the English court, besides Sir Edward Horsey, he had a powerful patron in Sir Francis Walsingham, to whom his narrative is dedicated, and who, as we have already shewn, became implicated in his career by joining in his mercantile ventures in Russia. Horsey's final return from Russia was in 1591; and he seems to have settled down in his own country in a condition of some affluence—the reward of many years of hardship, activity and danger, passed in a remote and barbarous country. The Russia Company, his early employers, took offence at many of his proceedings, and, as we have seen, brought against him charges affecting his probity as well as discretion. In this, however, they appear to have been influenced by the disfavour Horsey had fallen into of late with some of the Russian ministers; and, although they had clamoured loudly of his defalcations, on a general settlement at the termination of his connexion with them, the balance, according to Horsey's statement, was in his favour, and he received presents in token of their satisfaction.

Horsey tells us, at the end of his memoirs, that he had lived for thirty years a resident in Buckinghamshire, since his return from Russia, and had held the office of sheriff for the county. He also speaks of having served in parliament during this period; and

as in the list of members for Aylesbury there is a blank for the parliament of 1614, it may be conjectured that Horsey then sat for the borough. In the list of high sheriffs for the county his name occurs, as of Great Kimble (a manor of the Hampdens), in the year 1610.

In the letter which he wrote to Lord Burghley from Russia, in April 1591, shortly before his withdrawal from the country, he mentions having been for some time "betrothed to an honest gentleman's daughter of Buckinghamshire." This object of his affection must have been Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Griffith Hampden, of Buckinghamshire, grandfather of the patriot, John Hampden; for in the Hampden pedigree a Sir Jerome Horsey figures as the husband of that lady.[1] She died, however, in the year 1607[2], and he appears to have married a second time; for among the charters of the Cotton Collection is an indenture of settlement on the marriage of Sir Jerome Horsey with Isabella, one of the daughters of Edward Brocket, late of Wheathampstead, of the county of Hertfordshire, dated the 28th of October, 1609. By this deed, signed and sealed by the lady and her trustees, Horsey settles on her lands in Monk's Risborough, in Buckinghamshire.[3] Of the precise date of Horsey's death we are uncertain, but he appears to have been living in 1626, when the abstract of his travels was published by Purchas.

A memorial of his connexion with Russia is preserved in the library of the late Hon. Thomas

[1] Lipscombe, History of Buckinghamshire, vol. ii, p. 234.

[2] Harleian MS. 5832, f. 64. [3] Cotton Charter cxii. A. 21.

Grenville, now in the British Museum, in the form of a very rare edition of the Bible in Slavonic, printed at Ostrov, in the year 1581. On the fly-leaf is the following memorandum in Horsey's own hand: "This Bibell in the Sclavonian tonge had owt of the emperours librari. Jer. Horsey, 1581."

Horsey's narrative is now for the first time printed entire, and from his own manuscript, preserved in the Harleian collection,[1] in the British Museum. The only form in which it has been hitherto made public is in the epitome printed by Purchas in his "Pilgrimes", under the title of—"Extracts out of Sir Jerome Horsey's Observations in seventeene yeeres Travels and experience in Russia and other countries adjoyning. Having before seene France and the Lowe Countries by Sir Edward Horsey's meanes, and in the company and charge of Master William Merike, agent for the Company."[2] Of its merits little can be said in respect of style and composition, still less of orthography: but of the value of its matter we have the best evidence in the frequency and confidence with which it is quoted by the his-

[1] Harleian MS. 1813, f. 1. It had previously been in the library of Henry Worsely, of Lincoln's Inn, in the list of whose manuscripts it is included in the Catalogue of MSS. of England and Ireland, vol. ii. No. 6919.

[2] Purchas' Pilgrimes, folio, 1625, 1626, vol. v, p. 969. According to Adelung ("Kritisch-Literärische übersicht der Reisenden in Russland") an edition was printed at London, in 4to., in 1626. But this, we conceive, must be an error, probably arising from Purchas' publication of that date. He also states that a German translation of the same was published in Ziegler's "Täglicher Schauplatz der Zeit"; Leipzig, 1728, folio.

torian of Russia, Karamsin, who never expresses distrust of it as authority. The use which has been made of it by an author of so high a character, is alone sufficient reason for rendering it accessible in the form it was composed in by its author. The first part of it is occupied with notices of some of the earlier events in Ivan's reign, taken as he tells us from manuscript memoirs shewn to him by Prince Misstislavsky, a nobleman conspicuous in the history of those times, and who "out of his love and favour, imparted unto me many secreats observed in the memorie and procis of his tyme:" but we have not been able to identify the quotations from these memoirs with any of the printed works (not in Russian) we have been able to consult, nor does the name of Prince Misstislavsky appear among the writers of Russian annals.

It will be observed that Horsey dedicates his narrative to his patron, Sir Francis Walsingham: but this statesman died in April 1590; so that Horsey must have commenced the composition of his work prior to his setting out on his last mission to Russia, in that year. At the beginning of his narrative he announces his intention to write three other treatises, to embody his observations on the government, condition, commerce, etc., of Poland, Lithuania, Livonia, Transylvania, Sweden, Germany, Holland, Denmark, and the Netherlands; and at page 256, he speaks of having already "discoursed" of them. In the separate accounts of his missions of 1585 and 1589 [1590], written therefore after this first portion of his narrative, he again mentions his wish to record his observations of the various countries he

has either visited or become familiar with through other travellers, and says he would willingly commit his materials " to the good disposynge of this learned and worthy knyghte, Sir Robarte Cottone, that hath takene most comendable paynes in publeshinge this, a volume of so rare a mattere as the lyke hathe nevere heartofoare byne compyled together by any one historiographere whatsoevere;" for that he himself wants " bothe skylle and learnynge, methode and manor, to compose the same into any gracefull foarme. Notwithstandynge (he adds) yf God permyte, I doe promis eare longe to shewe my indevore to doe it in the best soarte I cane."[1] This intention he seems to have partly fulfilled, for Purchas, in the preface to his Extracts from Horsey's Travels, apologizes for not having transcribed at large " the author's Danish, Polish and Germane Relations." We have not, however, succeeded in discovering these remains in any of our public libraries.

We fear that some inconvenience will be experienced by the reader of Horsey's Travels from the rough structure of the language and the strangeness of his orthography. The former difficulty is incurable; and in respect to the latter, it has not been thought expedient to depart from an established rule of the Society.

December 16th, 1856.

[1] Appendix II, p. 311.

OF THE RVSSE Common Wealth.

OR

MANER OF GOuernement by the Ruffe *Emperour, (commonly called the* Emperour of *Moskouia)* with *the manners and fashions of the people of that Countrey.*

***

The Contents are noted in the Table, set downe before the beginning of the Booke.

AT LONDON
Printed by T. D. for *Thomas Charde.*
1591.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

TO THE QUEENES MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE.

MOST *gracious soveraigne, beeyng employed in your majesties service to the emperour of Russia, I observed the state and manners of that countrey. And having reduced the same into some order, by the way as I returned, I have presumed to offer it in this smal booke to your most excellent majestie. My meaning was to note thinges for mine owne experience, of more importaunce then delight, and rather true then strange. In their maner of government, your Highnesse may see both a true and strange face of a tyrannical state (most unlike to your own), without true knowledge of God, without written lawe, without common justice, save that which proceedeth from their speaking lawe—to wit, the magistrate,—who hath most neede of a lawe to restraine his owne injustice. The practise hereof, as it is heavy and grievous to the poore oppressed people that live within those countreyes, so it may give just cause to my selfe, and other your majesties faithfull subjects, to acknowledge our happines on this behalfe, and to give God thankes for your majesties most prince-like and*

gracious government; as also to your Highnesse more joy and contentment in your royall estate, in that you are a prince of subjectes, not of slaves, that are kept within duetie by love, not by feare. The Almightie stil blesse your Highnes with a most long and happy reigne in this life, and with Christ Jesus in the life to come.

Your majesties most humble

subject and servant,

G. FLETCHER.

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OF

THE RUSSE COMMON WEALTH.

CHAP. I.

The description of the countrie of Russia, with the breadth, length, and names of the shires.

THE countrie of Russia was sometimes called Sarmatia. It chaunged the name (as some do suppose) for that it was parted into diverse small and yet absolute governments, not depending nor being subject the one to the other. For Russe in that tongue doth signifie asmuch as to parte or divide. The Russe reporteth that foure brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sinees, and Varivus,[1] divided among them the north parts of the countrie. Likewise that the southpartes were possessed by foure other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their sister Libeda; each calling his territorie after his owne name. Of this partition it was called Russia, about the yeare from Christ 860. As for the conjecture which I find in some cosmographers, that the Russe nation borrowed the name of the people called Roxellani, and were the very same nation with them,—it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the etymologie of the word (which is very far fet), and especially for the seat and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two rivers of Tanais [Don], and Boristhenes

[1] [The partition of the government of Russia among the three brothers, Ruric, Truvor, and Sinaus, princes of the Varegers, is referred to the ninth century.—ED.]

Strabo in his 7 booke of Geogr.

[Dnieper], as Strabo reporteth, quite another way from the countrey of Russia.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was divided into two chiefe parts, the White and the Blacke. The White Sarmatia was all that part that lieth towardes the north, and on the side of Liefland; as the provinces now called Duyna, Vagha, Ustick, Vologda, Cargapolia, Novogradia, etc.; whereof Novograd urlica [veliki] was the metropolite or chiefe cittie. Blacke Sarmatia was all that countrey that lieth southward, towards the Euxin or Black Sea; as the dukedome of Volodemer, of Mosko, Rezan [Riazan], etc. Some have thought that the name of Sarmatia was first taken from one Sarmates, whom Moses and Josephus call Asarmathes, sonne to Joktan, and nephew to Heber, of the posteritie of Sem. But this seemeth to be nothing but a conjecture taken out of the likenes of the name Asarmathes. For the dwelling of all Joktans posteritie is described by Moses to have beene betwixt Mescha or Masius (an hill of the Amonites) and Sephace, neare to the river Euphrates. Which maketh it very unlikely that Asarmathes should plant any colonies so far off in the north and northwest countries. It is bounded northward by the Lappes and the North Ocean. On the southside by the Tartars, called Chrimes. Eastward they have the Nagaian [Nogaian] Tartar, that possesseth all the countrie on the east side of Volgha, towards the Caspian Sea. On the west and southwest border lie Lituania, Livonia, and Polonia.

Gen. 10. Joseph. l. 1. cap. 14.

The borders of Russia.

The shires of Russia.

The whole country being now reduced under the government of one, conteyneth these chief provinces or shires: Volodemer (which beareth the first place in the emperours stile, because their houses came of the dukes of that countrey), Mosko, Nisnovogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Novogrod velica (or Novogrod of the low countrey[1]), Rostove, Yarus-

[1] [The author is in error in his explanation of the name "Novogrod-velika," which means Novgorod the Great." "Nisnovogrod," or Nijnei-Novgorod, signifies the Lower Novgorod.—Ed.]

lave, Bealozera [Belo-ozero], Bezan [Riazan ?], Duyna, Cargapolia, Meschora [Mestchousk], Vagha, Vstuga, Ghaletsa [Galitche]. These are the naturall shires perteyning to Russia; but far greater and larger then the shires of England, though not so well peopled. The other countries or provinces which the Russe emperours have gotten perforce added of late to their other dominion, are these which follow: Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska [Viatka ?], Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condoria, with a great part of Siberia; where the people, though they be not natural Russes, yet obey the emperour of Russia, and are ruled by the lawes of his countrie, paying customes and taxes as his owne people doe. Besides these, hee hath under him the kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, gotten by conquest not long since.[1] As for all his possession in Lituania (to the number of thirty great townes and more), with Narve and Dorp in Livonia, they are quite gone, beyng surprised of late yeares by the kinges of Poland and Sweden. These shires and provinces are reduced all into foure jurisdictions, which they call *chetfyrds* (that is), tetrarchies, or fourth-parts. Wherof we are to speake in the title or chapter concerning the provinces, and their manner of government.

The provinces or countries got by conquest.

The whole countrie is of great length and breadth. From the north to the south (if you measure from Cola to Astracan, which bendeth somewhat eastwarde), it reacheth in length about 4,260 verst, or miles. Notwithstanding the emperour of Russia hath more territorie northward, far beyond Cola unto the river of Tromschua, that runneth a 1,000 verst, welnie beyond Pechinga, neare to Wardbouse [Vardœhuus], but not intire nor clearly limited, by reason of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, that have divers townes there aswell as the Russe, plotted togither the one with the other: every one of them claiming the whole of those north parts as his owne right. The breadth (if you go from that part of his territorie

The bredth and length of the countrie.

[1] [The former in the year 1552; the latter in 1554.—Ed.]

that lieth farthest westwarde on the Narve side, to the parts of Siberia eastward, where the emperour hath his garrisons) is 4,400 verst or thereabouts. A verst (by their reckoning) is a 1000 pases, yet lesse by one quarter then an English mile. If the whole dominion of the Russe emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places as it is in some, hee would either hardly hold it all within one regiment, or be over mightie for all his neighbour princes.

CHAP. II.

Of the Soyle and Climate.

THE soyle of the countrie for the most part is of a sleight sandie moulde, yet very much different one place from an other, for the yeeld of such thinges as grow out of the earth. The countrie northwards towards the partes of S. Nicolas and Cola, and northeast towards Siberia, is all very barren and full of desart woods, by reason of the clymat and extremitie of the colde in winter time. So likewise along the river Volgha, betwixt the countries of Cazan and Astracan, where (notwithstanding the soyle is very fruitefull) it is all unhabited, saving that upon the river Volgha on the west side, the emperour hath some fewe castels with garrisons in them. This hapneth by means of the Chrim Tartar, that will neyther himselfe plant townes to dwell there (living a wilde and vagrant life), nor suffer the Russe (that is farre off with the strength of his countrie) to people those partes. From Vologda (which lieth almost 1,700 verst from the porte of S. Nicholas) downe towards Mosko, and so towardes the south parte that bordereth upon the Chrim (which con-

taineth the like space of 1,700 verst or there abouts), is a very fruitfull and pleasant countrie, yeelding pasture and corne, with woods and waters in very great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lieth southeast from Mosko) to Novograd and Vobsko [Pskow?], that reach farthest towards the northwest. So betwixt Mosko and Smolensko (that lieth southwest towards Lituania) is a very fruitful and pleasant soile.

The whole countrie differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeare; so that a man would mervaile to see the great alteration and difference betwixte the winter and the sommer in Russia. The whole countrie in the winter lyeth under snow, which falleth continually, and is sometime of a yarde or two thicke, but greater towardes the north. The rivers and other waters are all frosen up a yarde or more thicke, how swifte or broade so ever they bee; and this continueth commonly five moneths, viz., from the beginning of November till towardes the ende of March, what time the snow beginneth to melte. So that it would breede a frost in a man to looke abroad at that time, and see the winter face of that countrie. The sharpenesse of the ayre you may judge of by this: for that water dropped downe or cast up into the ayre, congealeth into ise before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of winter, if you holde a pewter dishe or pot in your hand, or any other mettall (except in some chamber where their warme stoaves bee), your fingers will friese faste unto it, and drawe of the skinne at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a colde, you shall sensibly feele your breath to waxe starke, and even stifeling with the colde, as you draw it in and out. Divers, not onely that travell abroad but in the very markets and streats of their townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall; so that you shall see many drop downe in the streates, many travellers brought into the townes sitting dead and stiffe in their sleddes. Divers lose their noses, the tippes of their eares, and the bals of their cheekes, their toes, feete,

The cold of Russia

etc. Many times (when the winter is very harde and extreame) the beares and woolfes issue by troupes out of the woodes, driven by hunger, and enter the villages, tearing and ravening all they can finde; so that the inhabitants are faine to flie for safegard of their lives. And yet in the sommer time you shall see such a new hew and face of a countrie; the woods (for the most part which are all of fir and birch) so fresh and so sweet, the pastures and medowes so greene and well growen (and that upon the sudden), such varietie of flowres, such noyse of birdes (specially of nightingales, that seeme to be more lowde and of a more variable note then in other countries), that a man shall not lightly travell in a more pleasant countrie.

And this fresh and speedy grouth of the spring there, seemeth to proceede from the benefite of the snow; which all the winter time being spred over the whole countrie as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the frost, in the spring time (when the sunne waxeth warme, and dissolveth it into water) doth so thoroughly drench and soake the ground, that is somewhat of a sleight and sandy mould, and then shineth so hotely upon it again, that it draweth the hearbes and plants forth in great plenty and varietie in a very short time. As the winter exceedeth in colde, so the sommer inclineth to over much heat, specially in the moneths of June, July, and August, being much warmer then the sommer ayre in England.

The countrie throughout is very well watred with springs, rivers, and ozeraes or lakes. Wherein the providence of God is to bee noted, for that much of the countrie beyng so farre inland, as that some parte lieth a 1000 miles and more every way from any sea, yet it is served with faire rivers, and that in very great number, that emptying themselves one into an other, runne all into the sea. Their lakes are many and large, some of 60, 80, 100, and 200 miles long, with breadth proportionate.

The chief rivers are these: 1. Volgha, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an aldertree, about 200 verst above Yaruslave, and groweth so big by the encrease of other rivers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an English mile and more, and so runneth into the Caspian Sea, about 2,800 verst or miles of length. The chief rivers of Russia.

The next is Boristhenes (now called Neper), that divideth the countrie from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin Sea.

The third, Tanais or Don (the auncient bounder betwixt Europe and Asia), that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozera, and so running through the countrie of the Chrim Tartar, falleth into the great sea lake or meare (called Mæotis), by the citie of Azov. By this river (as the Russe reporteth) you may passe from their citie Mosko to Constantinople, and so into all those partes of the world by water, drawing your boate (as their manner is) over a little isthmus or narrow slippe of lande, a fewe versts overthwart. Which was proved not long since by an ambassadour sent to Constantinople, who passed the river of Moskua, and so into an other called Ocka, whence he drew his boate over into Tanais, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred miles long, that falleth northward into the Baye of Saint Nicholas, and hath great alabaster rockes on the bankes towards the sea side.

The fifth, Duna [Dvina], that emptieth into the Baltic Sea by the towne Riga.

The sixt, Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solovetsko, 90 verst from the port of Saint Nicholas. This river, below the towne Cargapolia, meeteth with the river Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the towne Yama. So that from the port of S. Nicholas into the Finland Sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath bene tried by the Russes.

The seventh, Suchana [Sukhona], that floweth into Duyna, and so into the North Sea.

The eight, Ocka, that fetcheth his head from the borders of the Chrim, and streameth into Volgha.

The ninth, Moskua, that runneth thorough the citie Mosko, and giveth it the name.

There is Wichida, also, a very large and long river, that riseth out of Permia and falleth into Volgha.[1] All these are rivers of very large streames, the least to be compared to the Thames in bignesse, and in length farre more; besides divers other. The Pole at Mosko is 55 degrees 10 minutes. At the porte of S. Nicholas towards the north, 63 degrees and 50 minutes.

CHAP. III.

The native commodities of the countrie.

The fruites and graine of Russia.

For kindes of fruites they have appels, peares, plummes, cheries, redde and blacke (but the blacke wild), a deene like a muske millian, but more sweete and pleasant, cucumbers and goords (which they call *arbouse*), rasps, strawberies, and hurtilberies, with many other bearies in great quantitie in every wood and hedge. Their kindes of graine are wheat, rie, barley, oates, pease, buckway, psnytha, that in taste is somewhat like to rice. Of all these graynes the countrie yeeldeth very sufficient with an overplus quantitie, so that wheate is solde sometime for two alteens or ten pence starling the *chetfird*, which maketh almost three English bushels.

Their rye is sowed before the winter, all their other graine

[1] [The Wytchegda flows through the eastern side of the government of Vologda and falls into the Dvina. The river rising in Permia and falling into the Wolga is the Kama.—Ed.]

in the spring time, and for the most parte in May. The Permians and some other that dwell far north and in desert places, are served from the partes that lye more southward, and are forced to make bread sometimes of a kinde of roote (called *vaghnoy*), and of the middle rine of the firre tree. If there be any dearth (as they accounted this last yeare, *an.* 1588, wheat and rye beyng at 13 alteens, or 5 shillings 5 pence starling the *chetfird*), the fault is rather in the practise of their nobilitie that use to engrosse it, then in the countrie it selfe.

The native commodities of the countrie (wherewith they serve both their owne turnes, and sende much abroad to the great enriching of the emperour and his people) are many and substantiall. First, furres of all sortes. Wherein the providence of God is to be noted, that provideth a naturall remedie for them, to helpe the naturall inconvenience of their countrie by the colde of the clymat. Their chiefe furres are these: blacke fox, sables, lusernes, dunne fox, martrones, gurnestalles or armins, lasets or miniver, bever, wulverins, the skin of a great water ratte that smelleth naturally like muske, calaber or gray squirrell, red squirrell, red and white foxe. Besides the great quantitie spent within the countrie (the people beyng clad all in furres the whole winter), there are transported out of the countrie some yeares by the marchants of Turkie, Persia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and some other of Christendome, to the value of foure or five hundred thousand rubbels, as I have heard of the marchants. The best sable furre groweth in the countrie of Pechora, Momgosorskoy [Mangasea?], and Obdorskoy; the worser sort in Siberia, Perm, and other places. The blacke fox and redde come out of Siberia, white and dunn from Pechora, whence also come the white wolfe and white beare skin. The best wulverin also thence and from Perm. The best martrons are from Syberia, Cadam [Kadom, on the Moshka], Morum [Murom, on the Oka], Perm, and Cazan. Lyserns,

The chiefe commodities of the countrie.

1. Furres.

minever, and armins, the best ar out of Gallets [Galitch] and Ouglites, many from Novogrod and Perm. The beaver of the best sort breedeth in Murmonskey, by Cola. Other common furres, and most of these kindes grow in many, and some in all partes of the countrie.

2. Waxe. The second commoditie is of wax, wherof hath bene shipped in forraine countries (as I have heard it reported by those that best know it) the summe of 50,000 pood yearlie, every pood conteyning 40 pound, but now about 10,000 pood a yeare.

3. Hony. The third is their hony, whereof, besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinary drinks (which is mead of al sorts) and their other uses, some good quantitie is carried out of the countrie. The chiefe encrease of honie is in Mordua and Cadam, neare to the Cheremissen Tartar: much out of Severskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

4. Tallow. Fourthly, of tallow they afoord a great waight for transportation: not only for that their countrie hath very much good ground apt for pasturage of cattaile, but also by reason of their many Lents and other fastes: and partly because their greater menne use much waxe for their lightes, the poorer and meaner sorte birch dried in their stoaves, and cut into long shivers, which they call *luchineos*. Of tallow there hath bene shipped out of the realme a few yeares since about a 100,000 pood yearly, now not past 30,000 or thereabouts. The best yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruslave, Ouglits, Novogrod, and Vologda, Otfer, and Gorodetskey.

5. Hide. An other principall commoditie is their losh and cowe hide. Their losh or buffe hide is very faire and large. Their bull and cowe hide (for oxen they make none, neyther yet weather) is of a small sise. There hath bene transported by marchants strangers some yeares, a 100,000 hydes: now it is decreased to a 30,000 or thereabouts. Besides great store

of goates skinnes, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the countrie. The largest kind of losh or buffe breedeth about Rostove, Wichida, Novogrod, Morum, and Perm: the lesser sorte within the kingdome of Cazan.

An other very great and principall commoditie is their trane oyle, drawen out of the seal fish. Where it will not bee impertinent to shewe the manner of their hunting the seal, which they make this oyle of: which is in this sort. Towardes the ende of sommer (before the frost begin) they go downe with their boates into the Bay of St. Nicholas,[1] to a cape called Cusconesse or Foxnose,[2] where they leave their boates till the next spring tide. When the sunne waxeth warme towarde the spring, and yet the yse not melted within the bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates over the sea yse, they use them for houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about 17 or 18 fleete of them of great large boates, which divide themselves into divers companies, five or six boates in a consort.

6. Trane oyle.

The manner of hunting the seal fish.

They that first finde the haunt fire a beacon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appoynted of purpose, they come altogither and compasse the seales round about in a ring, that lye sunning themselves togither upon the yse, commonly foure or five thousand in a shoale, and so they invade them every man with his clubbe in his hand. If they hit them on the nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catche and holde downe the club with their teeth by main force, that the party is forced to cal for help to his fellowes.

The manner of the seals is, when they see themselves beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumpe, to sway

[1] [At the mouth of the Dwina.]

[2] [By Cusconesse we must understand Kuiskoi Noss, usually written Coscaynos by the old travellers. It is a promontory distinct from Fox Nose, and about twelve leagues to the south of it.]

downe the yce, and to break it (if they can), which so bendeth the yce that many times it taketh the sea water upon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foot or more deepe. After the slaughter, when they have killed what they can, they fall to sharing every boate his parte in equall portions; and so they flay them, taking from the body the skin, and the lard or fat withall that cleaveth to the skin. This they take with them, leaving the bodies behind, and so goe to shore, where they digge pits in the ground of a fadome and an halfe deepe or there about, and so taking the fat or larde off from the skinne, they throw it into the pit, and cast in among it hoat burning stones to melt it withall. The uppermost and purest is solde and used to oyle wooll for cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make sope.

Ickary. 7. Likewise of ickary or cavery, a great quantitie is made upon the river of Volgha, out of the fish called bellougina, the sturgeon, the severiga, and the sterledey. Wherof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish marchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English marchants.

8. Hempe and flaxe. The next is of flaxe and hempe, whereof there hath bin shipped (as I have heard marchants say), at the port of Narve, a great part of a 100 ships, smal and great, yerely. Now, not past five. The reason of this abating and decrease of this and other commodities, that were wont to be transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting up of the port of the Narve towards the Finland Sea, which now is in the hands and possession of the Sweaden. Likewise the stopping of the passage overland by the way of Smolensko and Plotsko [Polotsk], by reason of their warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to be lesse provident in mainteining and gathering these and like commodities, for that they lack sales. Partly also for that the marchants and mousicks (for so they cal the common sort of people) are very much discouraged by many heavy and intollerable exactions, that of late time have been imposed upon them: no man accounting

that which he hath to be sure his own. And therefore regard not to lay up anything, or to have it before hand, for that it causeth them many times to be fleesed and spoiled, not only of their goods, but also of their lives. For the grouth of flaxe, the province of Vobsko and the countrey about is the chiefe and only place. For hemp, Smolensko, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

The countrey besides maketh great store of salt. Their best salt is made at Stararouse [Staraia Russa] in very great quantity, where they have great store of salt wels, about 250 verst from the sea. At Astracan salt is made naturally by the sea water, that casteth it up into great hils, and so it is digged down, and caried away by the marchants and other that wil fetch it from thence. They pay to the emperor for acknowledgement or custome 3d. Russe upon every hundred weight. Besides these two, they make salt in many other places of the realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitsma, Solovetske, Ocona, Bombasey, and Nonocks [Nenocksa], al out of salt pits, save at Solovetskey, which lieth neere to the sea. 9. Salt.

Likewise of tarre they make a great quantity out of their firre trees in the countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall commodities) they have divers other of smaller account, that are natural and proper to that countrey: as the fishe tooth (which they cal ribazuba), which is used both among themselves and the Persians and Bougharians, that fetcht it from thence for beads, knives, and sword hafts of noblemen and gentlemen, and for divers other uses. Some use the powder of it against poyson, as the unicornes horne. The fish that weareth it is called a morse, and is caught about Pechora. These fishe teeth, some of them are almost two foote of length, and weigh eleven or twelve pound apiece. 10. Tarre. 11. Ribazubah.

In the province of Corelia, and about the river Duyna towardes the North Sea, there groweth a soft rocke which they call slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into 12. Slude.

thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and so use it for glasse-lanthorns and such like. It giveth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glasse, and for this respect is better then either glasse or horne: for that it neither breaketh like glass, nor yet will burne like the lanthorne. Saltpeter they make in many places, as at Ouglites, Yaruslave, and Ustug, and some small store of brimstone upon the river Volgha, but want skill to refine it. Their iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in Corelia, Cargapolia, and Ustug Thelesna. Other myne they have none growing within the realme.

13. Saltpeeter and brimstone.

14. Iron.

The strange beasts, fish, foule, etc., that breed in Russia.

Their beasts of strange kinds are the losh, the ollen, the wilde horse, the beare, the wolvering or wood dogge, the lyserne, the beaver, the sable, the martron, the blacke and dunne foxe, the white beare towardes the sea coast of Pechora, the gurnstale, the laset or minever. They have a kinde of squirrell, that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone a long tuft of haire, much like unto feathers, with a farre broader tayle then haue any other squirrels, which they move and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like unto a wing. They skise[1] a large space, and seeme for to flie withall, and therefore they call them *letach vechshe*, that is, the flying squirrels. Their hares and squirrels in sommer are of the same colour with ours; in winter the hare changeth her coate into milke white, the squirrell into gray, whereof commeth the calaber.

They have fallow deere, the roe bucke, and goates very great store. Their horses are but small, but very swift and harde; they travell them unshod both winter and summer, without all regard of pace. Their sheepe are but small, and beare coorse and harsh wooll. Of foule, they have divers of the principall kindes: first, great store of hawkes, the eagle, the gerfaulcon, the slightfaulcon, the goshawke, the

[1] [This word is entered by Halliwell in his "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words," as in use in the Isle of Wight.]

tassel, the sparhawk, etc. But the principall hawke that breedeth in the countrey is counted the gerfaulcon.

Of other foules, their principall kinds are the swanne, tame and wilde (whereof they have great store), the storke, the crane, the tedder, of the colour of a feasant, but farre bigger, and liveth in the firre woods. Of feasant and partridge they have very great plentie. An owle there is of a very great bignesse, more uglie to beholde then the owles of this countrey, with a broade face, and eares much like unto a man.

For fresh water fish, besides the common sorts (as carpe, pikes, pearch, teneh, roach, etc.), they have divers kinds very good and delicate: as the bellouga or bellougina, of four or five elnes long, the osittina or sturgeon, the severiga, and sterledy, somewhat in fashion and taste like to the sturgeon, but not so thicke nor long. These four kinds of fish breed in the Volgha and are catched in great plenty, and served thence into the whole realme for a great food. Of the roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of icary or caveary, as was said before.

They have, besides these that breed in the Volgha, a fish called the riba bela or white salmon, which they account more delicate then they do the redde salmon, wherof also they have exceeding great plentie in the rivers northward, as in Duyna, the river of Cola, etc. In the *ozera* or lake neere a towne called Perislave, not far from the Mosko, they have a smal fish which they call the fresh herring, of the fashion and somewhat of the taste of a sea-hearing. Their chiefe townes for fish are, Yaruslave, Bealozera, Novogrod, Astracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large custome to the emperour every yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in sommer, but send it frozen in the winter time into all partes of the realme.

CHAP. IV.

The chiefe Cities of Russia.

THE chiefe cities of Russia are, Mosko, Novograd, Rostove, Volodomer, Plesko [Pskov], Smolensko, Jaruslave, Perislave, Nisnovograd, Vologda, Ustiuck, Golmigroe [Kholmogory], Cazan, Astracan, Cargapolia, Columna.

Mosko. The citie of Mosko is supposed to be of great antiquitie, though the first founder be unknowen to the Russe.[1] It seemeth to have taken the name from the river that runneth on the one side of the town. Berosus, the Chaldean, in his 5. book, telleth that Nimrod (whom other prophane stories cal Saturn) sent Assyrius, Medus, Moscus, and Magog into Asia to plant colonies there, and that Moscus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probability that the city, or rather the river whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this Moscus: the rather bicause of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part and list of Europe bordering upon Asia. The citie was much enlarged by one Evan or John, sonne to Daniel, that first changed his title of duke into king: though that honour continued not to his posterity: the rather because he was invested into it by the popes legate, who at that time was Innocentius the Fourth, about the yeere 1246, which was very much misliked by the Russe people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this citie hath growen more famous and better knowen to the world: insomuch that not onely the province, but the whole countrey of Russia is tearmed by some, by the name of Moscovia, the metropolite citie. The forme of this citie is in a manner round, with three strong walles circuling

[1] [The foundation of Moscow is attributed to the Grand Duke George Dolgorouky, in the year 1147.]

the one within the other, and streets lying betweene, wherof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the bodie, fenced and watred with the river Moskua, that runneth close by it) is all accounted the emperours castle. The number of houses (as I have heard) through the whole citie (being reckoned by the emperour a little before it was fired by the Chrim) was 41,500 in all. Since the Tartar besieged and fired the town (which was in the yeare 1571) there lieth waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was well set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the south side of Moskua, built not long before by Basilius the emperour for his garrison of souldiours, to whom he gave priviledge to drinke mead and beer at the drye or prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this newe citie by the name of *Naloi*, that is, *skinck* or *poure in*. So that now the citie of Mosko is not much bigger then the citie of London. The next in greatnes, and in a manner as large, is the citie Novograde: where was committed (as the Russe saith) the memorable warre so much spoke of in stories, of the Scythian servants that tooke armes against their maisters:[1] which they report in this sort: viz., that the *boiarens* or gentlemen of Novograde and the territorie about (which onely are souldiers after the discipline of those countries) had warre with the Tartars. Which being well perfourmed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they understood by the way that their *chlopey* [*klolopui*] or bondslaves whome they left at home, had in their absence possessed their townes, lands, houses, wives, and all. At which newes being somewhat amased, and yet disdayning the villanie of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not farre from Novograd met them in warlike Novograd.

[1] [See the original story, told by Herodotus in reference to the return of the Scythians to their settlement in the Crimea, B.C. 605. Book iv chapters 1-4.]

manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to bee done, they agreed all to set upon them with no other shewe of weapon but with their horse whips (which as their manner is every man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrifie them and abate their courage. And so marching on and lashing altogither with their whips in their hands, they gave the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like sheepe before the drivers. In memory of this victory the Novogradians ever since have stamped their coine (which they cal a *dingoe Novogrodskoy*, currant through al Russia) with the figure of a horseman shaking a whip a loft in his hand. These two cities exceed the rest in greatnes. For strength their chief townes are Vobsko [Pskov], Smolensko, Cazan, and Astracan, as lying upon the borders. But for
Jaruslave. situation Jaruslave farre exceedeth the rest. For besides the commodities that the soyle yeeldeth of pasture and corne, it lyeth upon the famous river Volgha, and looketh over it from a high banke very faire and stately to behold: wherof the towne taketh the name. For Jaruslave in that tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be ghessed by the name) dwelt the Russe king Vlademir, sirnamed Jaruslave, that married the daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sueno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish storie about the yeare 1067.[1]

The other townes have nothing that is greatly memorable, save many ruines within their walles. Which sheweth the decrease of the Russe people under this government. The streates of their cities and townes, in steed of paving, are

[1] [Gytha, sister of Harold, was married to Wladimir II, son of Wsewold —not to Jaruslave, who died in the year 1052. The "Danish storie" referred to is the *Historia Danica* of Saxo Grammaticus. See p. 556, of the edition by P. E. Müller, 8vo., Havniæ, 1839.]

planked with firre trees, plained and layed even close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood, without any lime or stone, built very close and warm with firre trees plained and piled one upon an other. They are fastened together with dentes or notches at every corner, and so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plentie in their woods) to keepe out the ayre. Every house hath a paire of staiers, that lead up into the chambers out of the yarde or streat, after the Scottish manner. This building seemeth farre better for their countrie, then that of stone and bricke: as being colder and more dampish then their woodden houses, specially of firre, that is a dry and warme wood. Whereof the providence of God hath given them such store, as that you may build a faire house for twentie or thirtie rubbels or little more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconvenience of their woodden building is the aptnes for firing, which happeneth very oft and in very fearful sort, by reason of the drinesse and fatnesse of the firre, that being once fired, burneth like a torch, and is hardly quenched till all be burnt up.

The manner of Russe buylding.

CHAP. V.

Of the house or stocke of the Russe emperours.

THE syrname of the imperiall house of Russia, is called Beala. It tooke the originall (as is supposed) from the kinges of Hungarie. Which may seeme the more probable, for that the Hungarian kings many yeares agoe have borne that name: as appeareth by Bonfinius and other stories written of that countrie. For about the yeare 1059 mention is made

of one Beala, that succeeded his brother Andreas, who reduced the Hungarians to the Christian faith, from whence they were fallen by atheisme and Turkish perswasion before. The second of that name was called Beala the Blinde, after whom succeeded divers of the same name.

The house Beala not naturall Russe.

That their auncestrie came not of the Russe nation, Ivan Vasilowich, father to this emperour, would many times boast, disdaining (as should seeme) to have his progenie derived from the Russe bloud. As namely to an English man his goldsmith, that had received bullion of him to make certain plate: whom the emperour commaunded to looke well to his waight. For my Russes (sayd he) are theeues all. Whereat the workeman looking upon the emperour, began to smile. The emperour being of quicke conceipt, charged him to tell him what he smiled at. If your maiestie will pardon me (quoth the goldsmith) I will tell you. Your highnesse said that the Russes were all theeyes, and forgot in the meane while that your selfe was a Russe. I thought so (quoth the emperour), but thou art deceived. For I am no Russe, my auncestors were Germanes (for so they account of the Hungarians to be part of the Germane nation, though in deed they come of the Hunnes, that invaded those countries and rested in those parts of Pannonia now called Hungary).

The advancement of the house of Beala.

How they aspired to the dukedome of Volodemer (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into Russia), and whether it were by conquest, or by marriage, or by what other meanes, I could not learne any certentie among them. That from these beginnings of a small dukedome (that bare notwithstanding an absolute government with it, as at that time did also the other shires or provinces of Russia) this house of Beala spread it selfe foorth, and aspired by degrees to the monarchie of the whole countrie, is a thing well knowen and of very late memorie. The chiefe of that house that advaunced the stocke, and enlarged their dominions, were the three last that raigned before this emperour, to wit, Ivan

Basileus, and Ivan father to the other that raigneth at this time. Wherof the first that tooke unto him the name and title of emperor was Basileus, father to Ivan, and grandfather to this man. For before that time they were contented to be called great dukes of Mosko. What hath bene done by either of these three, and how much they have added to their first estate by conquest or otherwise, may bee seene in the chapter of their colonies, or purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this house of Beala at this present is in like case as are many of the greatest houses of Christendome, viz., the whole stocke and race concluded in one, two, or some fewe of the bloud. For besides the emperour that now is, who hath no childe (neither is like ever to have for ought that may be conjectured by the constitution of his body, and the barennesse of his wife after so many yeares marriage), there is but one more, viz., a childe of sixe or seven yeares old,[1] in whom resteth all the hope of the succession, and the posteritie of that house. As for the other brother that was eldest of the three, and of the best towardnesse, he died of a blowe given him by his father upon the head in his furie with his walking staffe, or (as some say) of a thrust with a prong of it driven deepe into his head. That he meant him no such mortall harme when he gave him the blow, may appeare by his mourning and passion after his sonnes death, which never left him till it brought him to the grave. Wherein may be marked the justice of God, that punished his delight in shedding of bloud with this murder of his sonne by his owne hand, and so ended his dayes and tyrannie together, with the murdering of himselfe by extreame griefe, for this his unhappie and unnaturall fact.

The emperours yonger brother of sixe or seven yeares old (as was said before) is kept in a remote place from the Mosko, under the tuition of his mother and hir kindred of the house of the Nagaies [Nagoï]: yet not safe (as I have heard) from at-

[1] [Demetrius, youngest son of Ivan Vasilovitch.]

tempts of making away by practise of some that aspire to the succession, if this emperour die without any issue.[1] The nurse that tasted before him of certaine meat (as I have heard) died presently. That hee is a naturall sonne to Joan Vasilowich, the Russe people warrant it, by the fathers qualitie that beginneth to appeare already in his tender yeares. He is delighted (they say) to see sheepe and other cattel killed, and to looke on their throtes while they are bleeding (which commonly children are afraid to beholde), and to beate geese and hennes with a staffe till he see them lie dead. Besides these of the male kind, there is a widdow[2] that hath right in the succession, sister to the old emperour and aunt to this man, sometime wife to Magnus, duke of Holst, brother to the king of Denmarke, by whom shee had one daughter. This woman, since the death of hir husband, hath bene allured again into Russia by some that love the succession better then hir selfe, which appeareth by the sequele. For hir selfe with hir daughter, so soone as they were returned into Russia, were thrust into a nunnerie, where hir daughter died this last yeare while I was in the countrie, of no naturall disease as was supposed. The mother remaineth still in the nunnerie, where (as I have heard) shee bewayleth hir selfe, and curseth the time when she returned into Russia, entised with the hope of marriage, and other fayre promises in the

[1] [Demetrius, a child of only nine years of age, was assassinated in May 1591, at the instigation of Boris Godunoff, in order to clear his own way to the throne. Horsey gives a dramatic account of his being roused at midnight by a knocking at his gate, and finding there the brother of the Tzarina Dowager, who tells him of the murder of Demetrius, and asks him for an antidote to poison to save his sister the Tzarina, mother of Demetrius.]

[2] [The lady alluded to was Maria, *niece* of the Tzar Ivan Vassilovitch, and widow of Magnus, duke of Holstein, brother of Frederic II, king of Denmark. Her husband died in 1583; and Horsey relates how he was commissioned by Boris Godunoff to invite her to return into Russia after his death, and gives a curious account of an interview with her in the castle of Riga.]

emperours name. Thus it standeth with the imperiall stock of Russia of the house of Beala, which is like to determine in those that now are, and to make a conversion of the Russe estate. If it be into a government of some better temper and milder constitution, it will be happy for the poore people, that are now oppressed with intollerable servitude.

CHAP. VI.

Of the manner of crowning or inauguration of the Russe emperours.

THE solemnities used at the Russe emperours coronation are on this manner. In the great church of Precheste (or our Lady) within the emperour's castle is erected a stage, whereon standeth a scrine, that beareth upon it the imperiall cappe and robe of very riche stuffe. When the day of the inauguration is come, there resorte thither, first, the patriarch, with the metropolitanes, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, all richly clad in their *pontificalibus*. Then enter the deacons with the quier of singers, who, so soone as the emperour setteth foote into the church, beginne to sing: *Many yeares may live noble Theodore Ivanowich, &c.* Whereunto the patriarch and metropolite, with the rest of the cleargie, answere with a certaine hymne, in forme of a prayer, singing it all together with a great noyse. The hymne beyng ended, the patriarch with the emperour mount up the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the emperour. Whereupon the patriarch willeth him to sit downe, and then placing himselfe by him upon an other seate provided for that purpose, boweth downe his head towardes the ground, and sayeth this prayer:—*Oh Lord God, King of kinges, Lord of*

lordes, which by thy prophet Samuel diddest choose thy servant David, and annoint him for king over thy people Israell, heare now our prayers, and looke from thy sanctuarie upon this thy servant Theodore, whome thou hast chosen and exalted for king over these thy holy nations, annoint him with the oyle of gladnesse, protect him by thy power, put upon his head a crowne of golde and pretious stones, give him length of dayes, place him in the seate of justice, strengthen his arme, make subject unto him all the barbarous nations. Lette thy feare bee in his whole heart, turne him from an evill faith, and from all errour, and shewe him the salvation of thy holy and universall Church, that he may judge thy people with justice, and protect the children of the poore, and finally atteyne everlasting lyfe. This prayer hee speaketh with a lowe voyce, and then pronounceth a lowde:—*All prayse and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.* The prayer beyng ended, hee commaundeth certaine abbots to reach the imperiall roabe and cappe: whiche is done verie decently and with great solemnitie, the patriarch withall pronouncing alowde:—*Peace be unto all.* And so he beginneth another praier to this effect:—*Bowe your selves together with us, and pray to Him that reigneth over all. Preserve him (oh Lord) under thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doo good and holy thinges, let justice shine foorth in his dayes, that wee may live quietly without strife and malice.* This is pronounced somewhat softly by the patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe alowd:—*Thou art the King of the whole worlde, and the saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, be all prayse for ever and ever. Amen.* Then putting on the roabe and the cappe, he blesseth the emperour with the signe of the crosse: saying withall:—*In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.* The like is done by the metropolites, archbishops, and bishops, who all in their order come to the chaire, and one after another blesse the emperour with their two forefingers.

Then is sayd by the patriarch an other prayer, that beginneth:—*O most holy virgin mother of God, &c.* After which a deacon pronounceth with an high lowde voice:—*Many yeares to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great duke of Volodemer, of Mosko, emperour, and monarch of all Russia, &c.* Whereto the other priestes and deacons, that stand somewhat farre of by the altar or table, answeare singing:—*Many yeares, many yeares, to the noble Theodore.* The same note is taken up by the priestes and deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the church, and then all together they chaunt and thunder out, singing:—*Many yeares to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great duke of Volodemer, Mosko, emperour of all Russia, &c.* These solemnities beyng ended, first commeth the patriarch, with the metropolites, archbishops, and bishops, then the nobilitie, and the whole companie in their order, to doo homage to the emperour, bending downe their heads and knocking them at his feete to the very ground.

The stile whorewith he is invested at his coronation, runneth after this manner:—

Theodore Ivanowich, by the grace of God great lord and emperour of all Russia, great duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Novograd, king of Cazan, king of Astracan, lord of Plesko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska [Viatka], *Bulghoria, and others, lord and great duke of Novograd of the Low Countrie, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yaruslaveley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, commander of all Siberia, and of the north partes, and lord of many other countries, &c.*

This stile conteyneth in it all the emperours provinces, and setteth foorth his greatnesse. And therefore they have a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people, but also straungers (that have any matter to deliver to the emperour by speach or writing), to repeate the whole form from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much

cavill, and sometimes quarrell betwixt them and the Tartar and Poland ambassadours, who refuse to call him *czar*, that is emperour, and to repeat the other partes of his long stile. My selfe, when I had audience of the emperour, thought good to salute him onely with thus much, viz., *Emperour of all Russia, great duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Novograd, king of Cazan, king of Astracan.* The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried to have their stile appeare to bee of a larger volume then the queene's of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the chauncellor (who then attended the emperour with the rest of the nobilitie) with a lowde chafing voice called still upon mee to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the emperours stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by straungers, that I had repeatad so much of it as might shewe that I gave honour to the rest, &c. But all would not serve till I commaunded my interpreter to say it all out.

CHAP. VII.

The state or forme of their government.

THE manner of their government is much after the Turkish fashion: which they seeme to imitate as neare as the countrie, and reach of their capacities in pollitique affayres, will give them leave to doo.

The Ruase government tyrannicall.

The state and forme of their government is plaine tyrannicall, as applying all to the behoofe of the prince, and that after a most open and barbarous manner: as may appeare by the *sophismata* or secretes of their government afterwards set downe, as well for the keeping of the nobilitie and commons in an under proportion, and far uneven balance in their severall degrees, as also in their impositions and exac-

tions, wherein they exceede all just measure, without any regard of nobilitie or people: farther then it giveth the nobilitie a kinde of injust and unmeasured libertie to commaund and exact upon the commons and baser sort of people in all partes of the realme where so ever they come, specially in the place where their landes lye, or where they are appoynted by the emperour to gouerne under him; also to the commons some small contentment, in that they passe over their landes by discent of inheritance to whither sonne they will; which commonly they doo after our gavillkinde; and dispose of their goods by gifte or testament without any controlment. Wherein notwithstanding both nobilitie and commons are but storers for the prince, all running in the ende into the emperours coffers: as may appeare by the practise of enriching his treasurie, and the manner of exactions set downe in the title of his customes and revenues.

Concerning the principall pointes and matters of state, wherein the soveraintie consisteth (as the making and annulling of publike lawes, the making of magistrates, power to make warre or league with any forraine state, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of appeale in all matters, both civill and criminall) they doo so wholy and absolutely pertaine to the emperour, and his counsell under him, as that hee may be saide to be both the soveraine commaunder, and the executioner of all these. For as touching any lawe or publique order of the realme, it is ever determined of before any publique assemblie or parliament bee summoned. Where, besides his councell, hee hath none other to consult with him of such matters as are concluded before hand, but onely a fewe bishops, abbots, and friers: to no other end then to make advantage of the peoples superstitions, even against themselves, which thinke all to bee holy and just, that passeth with consent of their bishops and cleargie men, whatsoever it be. For which purpose the emperours are content to make much of the corrupt state of the Church, as now it

is among them, and to nourish the same by extraordinarie favours, and immunities to the bishops seas, abbeies, and frieries: as knowing superstition and false religion best to agree with a tyrannicall state, and to be a speciall meanes to uphold and mainteyne the same.

Secondly, as touching the publike offices and magistracies of the realme, there is none hereditarie, neither any so great nor so litle in that countrie, but the bestowing of it is done immediatly by the emperour himself. Insomuch that the very diacks or clearkes in every head towne, are for the most part assigned by himselfe. Notwithstanding, the emperour that now is (the better to entend his devotions) referreth al such matters perteyning to the state, wholly to the ordering of his wives brother, the L[ord] Borris Federowich Godonoe.

Thirdly, the like is to be said of the jurisdiction concerning matters judiciall, specially such as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath anie authoritie or publike jurisdiction that goeth by discent, or is held by charter, but all at the appoyntment and pleasure of the emperour, and the same practised by the judges with such awe and restraint, as that they dare not determine upon anie speciall matter, but must referre the same wholly up to the Mosko to the emperours councell. To shewe his soveraintie over the lives of his subjects, the late emperour Ivan Vasilowich, in his walkes or progresses, if hee had misliked the face or person of any man whom hee met by the way, or that looked upon him, would command his head to be strook off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.

Fourthly, for the soveraigne appeale, and giving of pardons in criminall matters to such as are convicted, it is wholly at the pleasure and grace of the emperour. Wherin also the empresse[1] that nowe is, being a woman of great clemencie,

[1] [Irene, sister of Boris Godunoff, protector of the empire, and subsequently emperor.]

and withall delighting to deale in publike affaires of the realme (the rather to supply the defect of her husband), doeth behave her selfe after an absolute manner, giving out pardon (specially on hir byrth day and other solemne times) in her owne name, by open proclamation, without any mention at all of the emperour. Some there have beene of late of the auncient nobilitie, that have held divers provinces by right of inheritaunce, with an absolute authoritie and jurisdiction over them, to order and determine all matters within their owne precinct without all appeale or controlment of the emperour. But this was all annulled and wrung cleane from them by Ivan Vasilowich, father to this emperour.

CHAP. VIII.

The manner of holding their parliaments.

THEIR highest court of publike consultation for matter of state is called the *Zabore*, that is, the publike assembly. The states and degrees of persons that are present at their parliaments, are these in order. 1. The emperour himselfe. 2. Some of his nobilitie, about the number of twentie, being all of his councel. 3. Certain of the cleargy men, &c., about the same number. As for burghers or other to represent the communitie, they have no place there: the people being of no better account with them then as servants or bond slaves that are to obey, not to make lawes, nor to knowe any thing of publike matters before they are concluded. The states of Parliament.

The court of parliament (called *Zabore*) is held in this manner. The emperour causeth to be summoned such of his nobilitie as himselfe thinketh meete, being (as was said) all of his councell, together with the patriarch, who calleth his cleargie, to wit, the two metropolites, the two archbishops, The order of the summons or assembling.

with such bishops, abbots, and friers as are of best account and reputation among them. When they are all assembled at the emperours court, the day is intimated when the session shal begin. Which commonly is upon some Friday, for the religion of that day.

When the day is come, the cleargie men assemble before at the time and place appointed, which is called the *Stollie*. And when the emperour commeth attended by his nobilitie, they arise all, and meete him in an out roome, following their patriarch, who blesseth the emperor with his two forefingers, laying them on his forehead and the sides of his face, and then kisseth him on the right side of his brest. So they passe on into their parliament house, where they sit in this order. The emperor is enthronized on the one side of the chamber. In the next place, not farre from him, at a smal square table (that giveth roome to twelve persons or thereabouts), sitteth the patriarche with the metropolites and bishops, and certeine of the principall nobilitie of the emperours councel, together with two diacks or secretaries (called *dumnoy dyakey*), that enact that which passeth. The rest place themselves on benches round about the roome, every man in his ranck after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the secretaries (who representeth the speaker) the cause of their assemblie, and the principall matters that they are to consider of. For to propound bils what every man thinketh good for the publike benefite (as the manner is in England), the Russe parliament knoweth no such custome nor libertie to subjects.

Their discourse at Parliament.

The poynts being opened, the patriarch with his cleargie men have the prerogative to be first asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the poyntes propounded by the secretarie. Whereto they answere in order, according to their degrees, but al in one forme without any discourse: as having learned their lesson before, that serveth their turnes at all parliaments alike, whatsoever is propounded. Com-

monly it is to this effect:—*That the emperour and his councell are of great wisedome, and experience, touching the pollicies and publike affaires of the realme, and farre better able to judge what is profitable for the common wealth then they are, which attend upon the service of God onlie, and matters of religion. And therefore it may please them to proceede. That insteade of their advise, they will aide them with their prayers, as their dueties and vocations doe require, &c.* To this or like effect having made their answeres every man in his course, up standeth some abbot or frier more bold then the rest (yet appointed before hand as a matter of forme), and desireth the emperour it would please his majestie to commaund to be delivered unto them what his majesties owne judgment and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his deiake.

Whereto is replied by the said secretarie in the emperours name:—*That his highnesse, with those of his noble councell, upon good and sound advice have found the matters proposed to be verie good and necessarie for the common wealth of his realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they as religious men, &c., know what is right, his majestie requireth their godlie opinions, yea and their censures too, for the approving or correcting of the saide propositions. And therefore desireth them againe to speake their mindes freely. And if they shal like to give their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.*

Hereunto, when the cleargie men have given their consents (which they used to do without any great pausing), they take their leaves with blessing of the emperour: who bringeth the patriarch on his way so farre as the next roome, and so returneth to his seat, till all be made readie for his returne homeward. The actes that thus are passed by the *Zabore* or parliament, the deiakeis or secretaries draw into a forme of proclamation, which they send abroad into every province and head towne of the realme, to be published there by the

dukes and diakeis or secretaries of those places. The session of parliament, being fully ended, the emperour inviteth the cleargie men to a solemne dinner. And so they depart every man to his home.

CHAP. IX.

Of the nobilitie, and by what meanes it is kept in an under proportion agreeable to that state.

The *udelney knazey*, chiefe of the nobilitie.

THE degrees of persons or estates of Russia (besides the soveraigne state or emperour himselfe), are these in their order. 1. The nobilitie, which is of foure sortes. Whereof the chiefe for birth, authoritie, and revenue are called the *udelney knazey*, that is, the exempted or priviledged dukes. These hold sometimes a several jurisdiction, and absolute authoritie within their precincts, much like unto the states or nobles of Germany. But afterwards (reserving their rights upon composition) they yeelded themselves to this house of Beala, when it began to waxe mightie, and to enlarge it self by overmatching their neighbours. Onely they were bound to serve the emperour in his warres with a certain number of horse. But the late emperour Ivan Vasilowich, father to this prince, being a man of high spirit, and subtill in his kind, meaning to reduce his government into a more strickt forme, beganne by degrees to clip of their greatnes, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the end he made them not onelie his vassals, but his *kolophey*, that is, his very villains or bondslaves. For so they terme and write themselves in anie publike instrument or private petition which they make to the emperour. So that now they holde their autho-

rities, landes, lives and all at the emperours pleasure, as the rest doe.

The meanes and practise whereby hee wrought this to effect against those and other of the nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he cast private emulations among them about prerogative of their titles and dignities. Wherein hee used to set on the inferiours, to preferre or equall themselves to those that were accounted to bee of the nobler houses. Where he made his advantage of their malice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiving devised matter, and accusations of secrete practise and conspiracies to be intended against his person and state. And so having singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off with the good liking of the rest, hee fell at last to open practise, by forcing of the other to yeeld their rights unto him.

The faction of Oppressini and Zempskey devised by the emperour.

2. Hee devided his subjectes into two partes or factions by a general schisme. The one part hee called the *Oppressini*[1] or select men. These were such of the nobilitie and gentrie as he tooke to his owne part, to protect and mainteyne them as his faithful subjects. The other hee called *Zemskey*, or the commons. The *Zemskey* conteyned the base and vulgar sort, with such noblemen and gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his government, and to have a meaning to practise against him. Wherein he provided that the *Oppressini* for number and qualitie of valure, money, armour, &c., farre exceedeth the other of the *Zemskey* side, whom he put (as it were) from under his protection: so that if any of them were spoiled or killed by those of the *Oppressini* (which hee accounted of his owne part), there was no amendes to bee sought for by way of publike justice, or by complaint to the emperour.

The whole number of both partes was orderly registred

[1] [The *Opritchnina* was established in the year 1565, and suppressed in 1572.]

and kept in a booke: so that every man knewe who was a *Zemskey* man and who of the *Oppressini*. And this libertie of the one part to spoyle and kill the other, without anie helpe of magistrate or lawe (that continued seven yeeres), enriched that side and the emperours treasurie, and wrought that withall which hee intended by this practise, viz., to take out of the way such of the nobilitie as himselfe misliked: whereof were slayne within one weeke to the number of three hundred within the citie of Mosko. This tyrannicall practise of making a generall schisme and publike division among the subjects of his whole realme, proceeded (as should seeme) from an extreame doubt and desperate feare which hee had conceived of most of his nobilitie and gentlemen of his realme, in his warres with the Polonian and Chrim Tartar. What time hee grewe into a vehement suspition (conceived of the ill successe of his affayres), that they practised treason with the Polonian and Chrim. Whereupon he executed some, and devised his way to be ridde of the rest.

And this wicked pollicy and tyrannous practise (though now it be ceassed) hath so troubled that countrey, and filled it so full of grudge and mortall hatred ever since, that it wil not be quenched (as it seemeth now) till it burne againe into a civill flame.

3. Having thus pulled them, and seased all their inheritaunce, landes, priviledges, &c., save some verie small part which he left to their name, hee gave them other landes of the tenour of *pomestnoy* (as they call it), that are helde at the emperours pleasure, lying farre of in an other countrey; and so removed them into other of his provinces, where they might have neyther favour nor authoritie, not being native nor well knowen there. So that now these of the chiefe nobilitie (called *udelney knazey*) are equalled with the rest: save that in the opinion and favour of the people they are of more account, and keepe stil the prerogative of their place in al their publike meetings.

Their practise to keepe downe these houses from rising againe and recovering their dignities, are these and such like. First, many of their heires are kept unmaried perforce, that the stocke may die with them. Some are sent into Siberia, Cazan, and Astracan, under pretence of service, and there either made away or else fast clapped up. Some are put into abbeyes, and shire themselves friers by pretence of a vowe, to be made voluntary and of their owne accord; but, indeede, forced unto it by feare, upon some pretensed crime objected against them. Where they are so garded by some of special trust, and the covent it selfe (upon whose head it standeth that they make no escape), as that they have no hope but to ende their lives there. Of this kinde there are manie of verie great nobilitie. These and such like wayes, begunne by the emperour Ivan Vasilowich, are still practised by the Godonoes, who, beyng advaunced by the mariage of the empresse their kinsewoman, rule both the emperour and his realme (specially Borris Federowich Godonoe, brother to the empresse), and endevour by all meanes to cut of or keepe downe all of the best and auncientest nobilitie. Whereof divers alreadie they have taken away, whom they thought likeliest to make head against them and to hinder their purpose, as Knez Andreas Guraken Bulgatkove,[1] a man of great byrth and authoritie in the countrey. The like they have done with Peeter Gollauni (whom they put into a dungeon where he ended his life), with Knez Vasilie Vrywich Golloohen,[2] with Andriev Ivanowich Suskoy, accounted among them for a man of a great wisedome. So this last yeere was killed in a monasterie (whither they had thrust him) on Knez Ivan Petrowich Suskoy, a man of great valure and service in that countrey: who, about five or sixe yeeres since, bare out the siege of the citie Vobsko [Pskov], made by Stepan Batore, king of Polonia, with a 100,000 men, and repulsed

[1] [Andreas Petrovitch Kurakin.]
[2] [Vasilie Jurievitch Golitzin.]

him verie valiantly, with great honour to himselfe and his countrey and disgrace to the Polonian.[1] Also Micheta Romanowich, uncle to the emperour by the mothers side, was supposed to have dyed of poyson or some like practise.[2]

Names of the greatest houses of the Russe nobilitie.

The names of these families of greatest nobility are these in their order. The first is of Knez Volodemer, which resteth at this time in one daughter, a widow and without children. (mentioned before), sometime wife to Hartock [Hertzog] Magnus, brother to the king of Denmark, now closed within a nunnery. The 2. Knez Metholoskey,[3] thrust into a friery, and his only sonne kept from mariage, to decay the house. The 3. Glimskoy. But one left of his house, and he without children save one daughter. The 4. Suskoy, wherof there are four brethren, yong men and unmaried al. The 5. Hubetskoy [Trubetsky]. Of this house are four living. The 6. Bulgaloy, now called Guletchey house, whereof are five living, but youths al. The 7. Vorallinskoy [Vorotinsky]. Two left of that stock. The 8. Odgoskey. Two. The 9. Telletskoy [Jeletsky?]. One. The 10. Taytove [Tateff]. Three. These are the names of the chiefe families called *udelney knazey*: that in effect have lost all now, save the very name it selfe and favour of the people, which is like one day to restore them againe, if any be left.

The 2. degree of nobilitie.

The 2. degree of nobility is of the *Boiarens*. These are such as the emperour honoureth (besides their nobility) with the title of counsellers. The revenue of these two sorts of their nobles, that riseth out of their lands assigned them by the emperour, and held at his pleasure (for of their owne

[1] [The celebrated siege of Pskov, commenced on the 18th of August, 1581, and continued till January in the following year, when a peace was concluded between Russia and Poland.]

[2] [Nikita Romanovitch Juriev, uncle of the Czar Fedor Ivanovitch, died on the 23rd of April, 1586.]

[3] [Prince Ivan Mstislavsky, distinguished for military services during the preceding reign. He conspired against Boris Godunoff, and was obliged to enter the convent of Kiriloff.]

inheritaunce there is little left them, as was said before) is about a thousand marks a yeere: besides pension which they receive of the emperour for their service in his warres, to the summe of 700 rubbels a yeere, and none above that summe.

But in this number the lorde Borris Federowich Godenoe is not to be reckoned, that is like a transendent, and in no such predicament with the rest, being the emperours brother in law, his protectour for direction, for commaund and authority emperour of Russia. His yerely revenue in land and pension amounteth to the summe of 93,700 rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. He hath of inheritance (which himselfe hath augmented in Vasma Dorogobose) sixe thousand rubbels a yeere. For his office of *Connick*, or Master of the Horse, 12,000 rubbels or markes, raised out of the *Conaslue Sloboday*, or the liberties pertayning to that office, which are certeyne landes and townes neere about the Mosko. Besides, all the meddowe and pasture grounde on both sides the banke of the river Mosko; thirtie verst up the streame and fourtie verst downwards. For his pension of the emperour (besides the other for his office) 15,000 rubbels. Out of the province or shire of Vagha, there is given him for a peculiar exempted out of the Chetfird of Posolskoy, 32,000 rubbels, besides a rent of furres. Out of Rezan and Sever (an other peculiar) 30,000 rubbels. Out of Otfer and Turiock, an other exempt place, 8,000 rubbels. For rent of bathstoaves and bathing houses without the walles of Mosko, 1,500 rubbels. Besides his pomest, or lands which hee holdeth at the emperours pleasure, which farre exceedeth the proportion of land allotted to the rest of the nobility.

One other there is, of the house of Glinskoy, that dispendeth in land and pension about 40,000 rubbels yeerely. Which hee is suffered to enjoy, because hee hath married Borris his wives sister, being himselfe verie simple and

almost a naturall. The ordering of him and his landes are committed to Borris.

The 3. sort of nobilitie.

In the third rank are the *Voyavodey*, or such nobles as are or have bin generals in the emperours warres. Which deliver the honour of their title to their posterities also: who take their place above the other dukes and nobles that are not of the two former sorts, viz., of the *Udelney Knazey* nor of the *Boiarens*.

These three degrees of their nobilitie, (to wit) the *Udelney Knazey*, the *Boiarens*, and the *Voiavodey*, have the addition of *vich* put unto their sirname, as Borris Federowich, &c.: which is a note of honour that the rest may not usurpe. And in case it be not added in the naming of them, they may sue the *bestchest* or penalty of dishonour upon them that otherwise shall terme them.

The fourth and lowest degree of nobilitie with them is of such as beare the name of *knazey* or dukes, but come of the yonger brothers of those chiefe houses, through many discents, and have no inheritance of their owne, save the bare name or title of duke onely. For their order is to deliver their names and titles of their dignities over to all their children alike, what so ever else they leave them. So that the sonnes of a *Voiavodey*, or generall in the field, are called *Voiavodey* though they never saw the field, and the sons of a *knez* or duke are called *knazey*, though they have not one groat of inheritance or livelyhood to mainteine themselves withall. Of this sort there are so many that the plentie maketh them cheap: so that you shall see dukes glad to serve a meane man for five or six rubbels or marks a yeare, and yet they will stand highly upon their *bestchest* or reputation of their honours. And these are their severall degrees of nobilitie.

The second degree of persons.

The second degree of persons is of their *Sina Boiarskey*, or the sonnes of gentlemen: which all are preferred, and hold that name by their service in the emperours warres, being

souldiers by their very stocke and birth. To which order are referred their *dyacks* or secretaries, that serve the emperour in every head towne, being joyned in commission with the dukes of that place.

The last are their commons, whom they call *Mousicks*. In which number they reckon their marchants and their common artificers. The very lowest and basest sort of this kind (which are held in no degree) are their countrie people, whom they call *Christianeis*. Of the *Sina Boiarskey* (which are all souldiers) we are to see in the description of their forces and military provisions. Concerning their *Mousicks*, what their condition and behaviour is, in the title or chapter *Of the common people*. The third degree.

CHAP. X.

Of the government of their provinces and shires.

THE whole countrie of Russia (as was said before) is divided into foure parts, which they call chetfirds or tetrarchies. Every chetfird conteineth divers shires, and is annexed to a severall office, whereof it takes the name. The first chetfird or tetrarchie beareth the name of *Pososkoy chetfird*, or the jurisdiction of the office of the ambassages, and at this time is under the chiefe secretarie and officer of the ambassages, called Andreas Shalcalove. The standing fee or stipend that he receiveth yearely of the emperour for this service, is 100 rubbels or markes. The foure chetfirds.

The second is called the *Roseradney chetfird*, because it is proper to the roserade or high constable. At this time it perteineth by vertue of office to Basilie Shalcalove, brother

to the chancellor, but it is executed by one Zapon Abramove. His pension is an hundred rubbels yearely.

The third is the *chetfird of Pomestnoy*, as perteining to that office. This keepeth a register of all lands given by the emperour for service to his noblemen, gentlemen, and others, giveth out and taketh in all assurances for them. The officer at this time is called Eleazar Wellusgine. His stipend is 500 rubbels a yeare.

The fourth is called *Cassanskoy dworets*, as being appropriat to the office that hath the jurisdiction of the kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, with the other townes lying upon the Volgha, now ordered by one Druzhine Penteleove, a man of very speciall account among them, for his wisdome and promptnes in matters of pollicie. His pension is 150 rubbels a yeare.

From these chetfirds or tetrarchies is exempted the emperors inheritance or *vochin* (as they cal it), for that it perteined from auncient time to the house of Beala, which is the sirname of the imperiall bloud. This standeth of 36 townes with their bounds or territories. Besides divers peculiar jurisdictions, which ar likewise deducted out of those chetfirds, as the shire of Vagha (belonging to the lord Borrise Federowich Godonoe), and such like.

These are the chiefe governours or officers of the provinces, not resident at their charge abroad, but attending the emperour whether soever he goeth, and carrying their offices about with them, which for the most part they hold at Mosko, as the emperours chiefe seat.

The parts and practise of these foure offices, is to receive all complaints and actions what soever that are brought out of their severall chetfirds and quarters, and to informe them to the emperours counsell. Likewise to send direction again to those that are under them in their said provinces, for all matters given in charge by the emperour and his counsell, to be done or put in execution within their precincts.

For the ordering of every particular province of these foure chetfirds there is appointed one of these dukes, which were reckoned before in the lowest degree of their nobilitie, which are resident in the head townes of the said provinces. Whercof every one hath joyned with him in commission a dyack or secretarie to assist him, or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their commission the dyack doth all.

The parts of their commission are these in effect. First, to heare and determine in all civil matters within their precinct. To which purpose they have under them certeine officers, as *gubnoy starets* or coroners, who, besides the triall of selfe murders, are to attach fellons: and the *soudie* or under justices, who themselves also may heare and determine in all matters of the same nature, among the countrie people of their owne wardes or bayliwicks: but so that in case either partie dissent, they may appeale and goe farther to the duke and dyack that reside within the head towne. From whom also they may remove the matter to the higher court at Mosko of the emperours counsell, where lie all appeales. They have under them also *sotskoy starets*, that is, aldermen, or balives of the hundreds. The commission of the dukes or presidents of shires.

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as theft, murder, treason, &c., they have authoritie to apprehend, to examine, and to emprison the malefactor, and so having received perfect evidence and information of the cause, they are to send it ready drawen and orderly digested up to the Mosko, to the officer of the chetfird whereunto that province is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the emperours counsell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to doo execution upon the partie offending, is more then their commission will allow them to doo.

Thirdly, if there be any publike service to be done within that province (as the publishing of any law or common order by way of proclamation, collecting of taxes and impositions for the emperour, moistering of souldiers, and sending them

forth at the day and to the place assigned by the emperour or his counsell), all these and such like perteyne to their charge.

These dukes and dyacks are appointed to their place by the emperour himselfe, and are chaunged ordinarily at every yeares end, except upon some special liking or suit the time be proroged for a yeare or two more. They are men of themselves of no credite nor favour with the people where they governe, being neither borne nor brought up among them, nor yet having inheritance of there owne there or els where. Onely of the emperour they have for that service an 100 markes a yeare, he that hath most, some fiftie, some but thirtie. Which maketh them more suspected and odious to the people, because being so bare, and comming fresh and hungrie upon them lightly every yeare, they rack and spoile them without all regard of justice or conscience. Which is easily tollerated by the chiefe officers of the chetfirds, to the end they may rob them againe, and have a better bootie when they call them to account: which commonly they doo at the end of their service, making an advantage by their injustice and oppression over the poore people. There are few of them but they come to the *pudkey* or whip when their time is ended, which themselves for the most parte doo make account of. And therefore they furnish themselves with all the spoile they can for the time of their government, that they may have for both turnes, aswel for the emperour and lord of the chetfird, as to reserve some good part for themselves.

They that are appointed to governe abroad are men of this qualitie: save that in the foure border townes that are of greatest importance, are set men of more speciall valure and trust, two in every towne. Wherof one is ever of the emperours privie counsell. These foure border townes are Smolensko, Vobsko [Pskov], Novogrod, and Cazan, whereof three lie towards the Polonian and Sweden, one bordercth far of

upon the Chrim Tartar. These have larger commission then the other dukes of the provinces that I spake of before, and may doo execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behoofull for the commonwelth: for incident occasions that may happen upon the borders that are far of, and may not stay for direction about every occurrent and particular matter from the emperour and his counsell. They are chaunged every yeare (except as before), and have for their stipend 700 rubbels a yeare hee that hath most: some have but 400. Many of these places that are of greatest importance, and almost the whole countrie, is managed at this time by the Godonoes and their clients.

The citie of Mosko (that is the emperours seat) is governed altogether by the emperours counsell. All matters there, both civill and criminall, are heard and determined in the severall courtes held by some of the said counsell, that reside there all the yeare long.

The gover n ment of Mosko.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as buildings, reparations, keeping of their streates decent and cleane, collections, levying of taxes, impositions, and such like) are appointed two gentlemen and two *dyacks* or secretaries, who hold a court together for the ordering of such matters. This is called the *Zempskey* house. If any townes man suspect his servant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him to have him examined upon the *pudkey*[1] or other torture. Besides these two gentlemen and secretaries that order the whole citie, there are *starusts* or aldermen for everie severall companie. The alderman hath his *sotskey* or constable, and the constable hath certaine *decetskeis* or decurions under him, which have the oversight of ten households a peece, whereby everie disorder is sooner spide, and the common service hath the quicker dispach. The whole number of citizens, poore and rich, are reduced into companies. The chiefe officers (as the *dyacks* and gentlemen) are appointed by the emperour him-

[1] [Scourging with a whip. See chapter 14.]

selfe, the *starust* by the gentlemen and dyacks, the *sotskoy* by the *starust* or alderman, and the *decetskoies* by the constables.

This manner of government of their provinces and townes, if it were aswell set for the giving of justice indifferently to al sorts, as it is to prevent innovations by keeping of the nobilitie within order and the commons in subjection, it might seeme in that kinde to bee no bad nor unpollitique way for the conteyning of so large a commonwealth, of that breadth and length as is the kingdome of Russia. But the oppression and slaverie is so open and so great, that a man would marvell how the nobilitie and people shoulde suffer themselves to bee brought under it, while they had any means to avoid and repulse it: or being so strengthned as it is at this present, how the emperours themselves can be content to practise the same, with so open injustice and oppression of their subjects, being themselves of a Christian profession.

An hardo matter to alter the state of Russia.

By this it appeareth how harde a matter it were to alter the state of the Russe government as now it standeth. First, because they have none of the nobilitie able to make head. As for the lords of the foure chetfirds or tetrarchies, they are men of no nobilitie, but dyacks advaunced by the emperour, depending on his favour, and attending onely about his owne person. And for the dukes that are appointed to govern under them, they are but men of a titular dignitie (as was saied before), of no power, authoritie, nor credit, save that which they have out of the office for the time they enjoy it. Which doth purchase them no favour, but rather hatred of the people, for asmuch as they see that they are set over them, not so much for any care to doo them right and justice, as to keepe them under in a miserable subjection and to take the fliece from them, not once in the yeare (as the owner from his sheepe), but to poule and clip them all the yeare long. Besides, the authority and rule which they

beare is rent and divided into many small pieces, being divers of them in every great shire, limited besides with a very short time: which giveth them no scope to make any strength, nor to contrive such an enterprise, if happily they intended any matter of innovation. As for the common people (as may better appeare in the description of their state and qualitie afterwardes set downe) besides their want of armour and practise of warre (which they are kept from of purpose) they are robbed continually both of their harts and mony, (besides other means) sometimes by pretence of some service to be done for the common defence, sometimes without any shewe at all of any necessitie of common-wealth or prince. So that there is no meanes, either for nobilitie or people, to attempt any innovation, so long as the militarie forces of the emperour (which are the number of 8,000 at the least in continuall pay) hold themselves fast and sure unto him and to the present state. Which needes they must doo, beyng of the qualitie of souldiers, and enjoying withall that free libertie of wronging and spoiling of the commons at their pleasure, which is permitted them of purpose, and to make them have a liking of the present state. As for the agreement of the souldiers and commons, it is a thing not to be feared, beyng of so opposite and contrarie practise much one to the other. This desperate state of things at home, maketh the people for the most part to wishe for some forreine invasion, which they suppose to bee the onely meanes to rid them of the heavy yoke of this tyrannous government.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Emperours Counsell.

THE emperours of Russia give the name of counsellour to divers of their chiefe nobilitie, rather for honors sake then for any use they make of them about their matters of state. These are called *Boiarens*, without any addition, and may bee called counsellors at large. For they are seldome or never called to any publique consultation. They which are of his speciall and privie counsell indeed (whom hee useth daily and ordinarily for all publique matters perteining to the state), have the addition of *dumnoy*, and are named *dumnoy boiaren*, or lords of the counsell, their office or sitting *boarstva dumna*.

The number and names of the counsellours of state.

Their names at this present are these in their order. First, Knez Feoder Joanowich Methisloskey [Mstislafsky]. 2. Knez Ivan Michailowich Glinskoy. 3. Knez Vasilie Ivanowich Suskoy [Schiuskoy] Scopin. (These three are accounted to bee of greater birth then wisedome, taken in (as may seeme) for that ende, rather to furnish the place with their honours and presence, then with their advise or counsell.) 4. Knez Vasilie Ivanowich Suskoy, thought to be more wise then the other of his name. 5. Knez Feoder Michailowich. 6. Knez Micheta Romanowich Trowbetskoy. 7. Knez Timophey Romanowich Trowbetskoy. 8. Knez Andriew Gregoriwich Curakine 9. Knez Demetrie Ivanowich Forestine [Chworostinin]. 10. Knez Feoder Ivanowich Forestine. 11. Bodan Ivanowich Sabarove. 12. Knez Ivan Vasilowich. 13. Knez Feoder Demetriwich Shestinove. 14. Knez Feoder Michailowich Troyconiove [Troekurof]. 15. Ivan Buterlyney [Buterlin]. 16. Demetrie Ivanowich Godonoe. 17. Borrise Federowich Godonoe, brother to the empresse. 18. Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe. 19. Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe.

20. Ivan Vasilowich Godonoe. 21. Feoder Sheremitove. 22. Andriew Petrowich Cleshenina [Kleshnim]. 23. Ignatie Petrowich Tatislove. 24. Romain Michailowich Peva. 25. Demenshoy Ivanowich Cheremissen. 26. Romain Vasilowich Alferiove. 27. Andriew Shalcalove. 28. Vasilie Shalcalove. 29. Eleazar Wellusgin. 30. Drezheen Penteleove. 31. Zapon Abramove.

Foure secretaries.

The foure last of these are called *dumnoy deiakey*, or lord secretaries. These are all of the emperours privie counsell, though but fewe of them are called to any consultation, for that all matters are advised and determined upon by Borris Federowich Godonoe, brother to the empresse, with some five or sixe more whom it pleaseth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare then to give counsel, and doo so demeane themselves. The matters occurent which are of state done within the realme, are infourmed them at their sittings by the lordes of the foure chetfirds or tetrarchies. Whereof mention is made in the chapter concerning the government of their provinces. Who bring in all such letters as they receyve from the dukes, dyacks, captaines, and other officers of the cities and castels perteyning to their severall quarter or chetfird, with other advertisements, and informe the counsell of them.

The like is done by the chiefe officer of every severall office of record, who may come into the counsell chamber and informe them, as occasion incident to his office doth require. Besides matters of state, they consider of many private causes, informed by way of supplication in very great numbers. Whereof some they intertaine and determine, as the cause or meanes can procure favour. Some they send to the offices whereto they perteyne by common course of lawe. Their ordinarie dayes for their sitting are Mondaies, Wensdaies, and Fridayes. Their time of meeting is commonly seven a clock in the morning. If there be any extraordinary occasion that requireth consultation on some other

day, they have warning by the clarke of the counsell, called *dorofey bushew*, who receiveth order from the *roserad* or high constable of the realme, to call them together at the time appointed.

CHAP. XII.

Of the emperours customes and other revenues.

The offices of receipt.

FOR the receyving of customes and other rentes belonging to the crowne, there are appoynted divers under officers, which deliver over the same into the head treasurie. The first is the office of *dwoertsova*, or steward of the housholde. The second is the office of the *chetfirds*, which I comprehend under one, though it bee divided into foure severall partes, as was sayd before. The third is called *bulsha prechode*, or the great income.

The steward receivor of the crowne land rentes.

As touching the first, which is the office of the steward, it receyveth all the rents of the emperours inheritance or crowne lande, which they call *vochin*. The *vochin* or crowne lande conteyneth in it 36 townes, with the territories or hundreds belonging unto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeeld the greatest rents are these :—Alexandrisca, Corelska, Otfer [Tver], Slobodey, Danielska, Moisalskoy, Chara, Sametska, Strararouse [Staraia-Boussa], Bransove, &c. The inhabitants or tenants of these and the other townes pay some rent money, some other rent dueties (called *obrokey*), as certaine *chetfirds* or measures of graine, wheate, rye, barley, oates, etc., or of other victuall, as oxen, sheepe, swannes, geese, hares, hennes, wild fowle, fish, hay, wood, honie, etc. Some are bound to sowe for the emperours provision cer-

taine akers of ground, and to make the corne ready for his use: having for it an allowance of certaine akers of ground for their owne proper use.

This provision for the houshold, specially of graine served in by the tenants, is a great deale more than is spent in his house, or in other allowance served out in liverie, or for the emperours honour, called *schalovaney:* for which use there is bestowed very much, both in graine and other victuall. This surplus of provision is sold by the steward to the best hand, and runneth into the emperours treasurie.

In the time of Ivan Vasilowich, father to this emperour (who kept a more princely and bountiful house then the emperour now doth), this overplus of graine and other incomes into the stewardes office, yeelded to his treasurie not past 60 thousand rubbels yeerely, but riseth now by good husbanding of the steward, Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe, to 230 thousand rubbels a yere. And this by the meanes of the empresse and her kinred, (specially Borris Fedorowich Godonoe) that account it al their owne that runneth into the emperors treasure. Much of this surplusage that riseth out of the rent provision, is emploied to the paiment of the wages of his houshold officers, which are very many attending at home and purveying abroad.

The second office of receipt, called the *chetfirds* (being devided into foure severall partes, as before was sayde) hath foure head officers, which, besides the ordering and government of the shires conteyned within their severall chetfirds, have this also as a part of their office, to receive the *tagla* and *podat* belonging to the emperour, that riseth out of the foure chetfirds or quarters. The *tagla* is a yeerely rent or imposition raised upon every *wite* or measure of graine that groweth within the land, gathered by sworne men and brought into the office. The *wite* conteyneth sixtie chetfirds. Every chetfird is three bushelles English, or little lesse.

The office of *chetfird.*

Tagla and *podat.*

The *podat* is an ordinarie rent of money imposed upon everie soake or hundred within the whole realme.

This *tagla* and *podat* bring in yeerely to the offices of the chetfirdes a greate summe of money: as may appeare by the particulars heere set downe. The towne and province of Vobsko pay yeerely for *tagla* and *podat* about 18,000 rubbels. Novogrod, about 35,000 rubbels. Torshocke and Otfer, 8,000 rubbels. Razan, 30,000 rubbels. Morum, 12,000 rubbels. Colmigroe and Duyna, 8,000 rubbels. Vologda, 12,000 rubbels. Cazan, 18,000 rubb. Vstiug, 30,000 rubbels. Rostove, 50,000. The citie of Mosko, 40,000 rubbels. Sibierskoy, 20,000 rubbels. Castrome, 12,000 rubbels. The totall amounteth to 400,000 rubbels or markes a yeere, which is brought in yeerely the first day of September, that is reckoned by them the first day of the yeere.

The office of *bulsha prechod*, or great income.

The thirde (that is called the *bulsha prechod*, or great income) receyveth all the customes that are gathered out of all the principall townes and cities within the whole realme. Besides the fees and other dueties which rise out of divers smaller offices, which are all brought into this office of *bulsha prechod*. The townes of most trade that doe yeelde greatest custome, are these heere sette downe:—Mosko, Smolensko, Vobsko, Novogrod Velica, Strararouse, Torshocke, Otfer, Yaruslave, Castrome, Nesna Novogrod, Cazan, Vologda. This custome out of the great townes is therefore more certaine and easie to be reckoned, because it is set and rated precisely what they shal pay for the custome of the yeere. Which needes must bee paide into the saide office, though they receive not so much. If it fal out to be more, it runneth al into the emperours advantage.

The emperours custome.

The custome at Mosko for everie yeere is 12,000 rubbels. The custome of Smolensko, 8,000. Vobsko, 12,000 rubbels. Novogrod Velica, 6,000 rubbels. Stararouse, by salt and other commodities, 18,000 rubbels. Torshock, 800 rubbels. Otfer, 700 rubbels. Yaruslave, 1,200 rubbels. Castrome,

1,800 rubbels. Nesna Novogrod, 7,000 rubbels. Cazan, 11,000 rubbels. Vologda, 2,000 rubbels. The custome of the rest that are townes of trade is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their traffike and dealings with commodities too and fro falleth out for the yeere.

The whole receipt of the *bulsha prechod*, or great income.

This may bee saide for certaine, that the three tables of receipts belonging to this office of *bulsha prechod*, when they receive lest, account for thus much, viz.:—The first table, 160,000 rubbels. The second table, 90,000 rubbels. The third, 70,000 rubbels. So that there commeth into the office of *bulsha prechod*, at the least reckoning (as appeareth by their bookes of customs) out of these and other townes, and maketh the summe of 340,000 rubbles a yeere. Besides this custome out of the townes of trade, there is received by this office of *bulsha prechod* the yeerely rent of the common bathstoaves, and cabacks or drinking houses, which pertein to the emperour. Which (though it be uncertaine for the just summe, yet because it is certaine and an ordinary matter that the Russe wil bath himselfe aswel within as without) yeeldeth a large rent to the emperours treasurie.

Rents out of the judicial offices.

There is besides a certeine mulct or penaltie, that groweth to the emperour out of every judgment or sentence that passeth in any of his courts of record in all civill matters. This penaltie or mulct is 20 *dingoes* or pence upon every rubble or marke, and so ten in the hundred. Which is paide by the partie that is convict by lawe. Hee hath besides for every name conteyned in the writs that passe out of these courts, five *alteens*. An *alteen* is five pence sterling, or there abouts. This is made good out of the office whence the writ is taken foorth. Thence it goeth to the office that keepeth the lesser seale, where it payeth as much more to the emperours use. This riseth commonly to 3,000 rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts. Farther also out of the office of *roisbonia*, where all fellonies are tried, is received for the emperour the halfe part of fellons goodes; the other halfe

goeth, the one part to the informer, the other to the officers.

All this is brought into the office of *bulsha prechod*, or great income. Besides the overplus or remainder that is saved out of the land rents allotted to divers other offices, as, namely, to the office called *roserade*, which hath landes and rentes assigned unto it to pay the yeerely salaries of the souldiers or horsemen, that are kept still in pay. Which in time of peace, when they rest at home not employed in anie service, is commonly cut off and payde them by halfes, sometimes not the halfe; so that the remainder out of the *roserade* office that is layde into the emperours treasurie, commeth for the most part every yeere to 250,000 rubbels.

In like sort (though not so much) is brought in the surplus out of the *strelletskoy* offices, which hath proper lands for the payment of the *strelsey* men or gunners, aswell those at Mosko, that are of the emperors gard (12,000 in ordinary) as on the borders and other garrison townes and castels. Likewise out of the office of *prechase shisivoy nemshoy*, which hath set allowance of landes to mainteine the forreyne mercenarie souldiers, as Poles, Sweadens, Doutches, Scots, &c. So out of the office of *pusharskoy* (which hath lands and rents allowed for the provision of munition, great ordinance, powder, shot, salpeeter, brimstone, ledde, and such like) there is left somewhat at the yeres ende that runneth into the treasurie. All these bring into the office of *bulsha prechod* that which remaineth in their hand at the yeeres end. Whence it is delivered into the emperours treasurie. So that the whole summe that groweth to this office of *bulsha prechod*, or the great income (as appeareth by the bookes of the said office) amounteth to 800,000 rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts.

The emperours treasure house within his castle of Mosko.

All these offices, to wit, the office of the steward, the foure *chetfirds*, and the *bulsha prechod*, deliver in their receiptes to the head treasurie, that lyeth within the emperours house or castle at the Mosko. Where lye all his moneyes, jewels,

crownes, scepters, plate, and such like, the chests, hutches, and bagges beyng signed by the emperours themselves with their owne seale. Though at this time the L. Borris Federowich Godonoe his seale and oversight supplieth for the emperor, as in al other things. The under officer at this time is one Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe, coosin germane to the sayde Borris, who hath two clearkes allowed to serve under him in the office.

The summe that groweth to the emperoures treasurie in money onely for everie yeere.

1. Out of the stewards office, above the expense of his house, 23,000 rubbels.
2. Out of the foure chetfirds, for soake and head money, 400,000 rubbels.
3. Out of the *bulsha precod* office, or great income, for custome and other rents, 800,000 rubbels.

Summe 1,430,000 rubbles cleere, besides all charges for his house, and ordinary salaries of his souldiers otherwise discharged.

The summe of the emperours rent money.

But besides this revenue, that is paid all in money to the emperours treasurie, he receiveth yeerely in furres and other dueties to a great value out of Siberia, Pechora, Permia, and other places, which are solde or bartred away for other forreine commodities to the Turkish, Persian, Armenian, Georgian, and Bougharian marchants that trade within his countries, besides others of Christendome. What it maketh in the whole (though the value can not be set downe precisely, as being a thing casual as the commodity may be got), it may be gessed by that which was gathered the last yeere out of Siberia for the emperours custome, viz., 466 timber of sables, five timber of martrones, 180 blacke foxes, besides other commodities.

To these may bee added their seazures and confiscations upon such as are in displeasure, which riseth to a great summe; besides other their extraordinary impositions and

exactions, done upon their officers, monasteries, &c., not for any apparant necessity or use of the prince or common wealth, but of will and custome: yet with some pretence of a Scythian, that is, grosse and barbarous pollicie, as may appeare by these fewe *sophismata* or counterfeit pollicies, put in practise by the emperours of Russia, all tending to this end—to robbe their people and to inrich their treasurie. To this purpose this byword was used by the late emperour Ivan Vasilowich:—That his people were like to his beard; the oftner shaven, the thicker it would grow. Or like sheepe, that must needes be shorne once a yeere at the least, to keepe them from being overladen with their wooll.

Means used to draw the wealth of the land into the emperours treasurie.

To prevent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatsoever, done upon the commons by their dukes, diaks, or other officers in their provinces: but to suffer them to go on till their time bee expired, and to sucke themselves ful. Then to cal them to the *praveush* (or whippe) for their behaviour, and to beate out of them all or the most part of the bootie (as the honie from the bee), which they have wrung from the commons, and to turne it into the emperours treasurie; but never any thing backe againe to the right owners, how great or evident soever the injurie be. To this ende the needy dukes and diacks that are sent into their provinces, serve the turne very well, being chaunged so often (to wit) once a yeere: where, in respect of their owne and the qualitie of the people (as before was said) they might be continued for some longer time, without all feare of innovation. For comming still fresh upon the commons, they sucke more egerly: like Tiberius the emperours flies, that came newe still upon all olde sore; to whome hee was wont to compare his prætors and other provinciall officers.

2

To make of these officers (that have robbed their people) sometimes a publike example, if any be more notorious then the rest: that the emperour may seem to mislike the oppressions done to his people, and transferrre the fault to his ill officers.

As, among divers other, was done by the late emperour Ivan Vasilowich to a diack in one of his provinces: that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a goose ready drest full of money. The man was brought to the market place in Mosko. The emperour himselfe present made an oration. "These, good people, are they that would eate you up like bread," &c. Then asked hee his *polachies* or executioners who could cut up a goose, and commaunded one of them first to cut off his legges about the middes of the shinne, then his armes above his elbowes (asking him still if goose fleshe were good meate), in the ende to choppe off his head: that he might have the right fashion of a goose readie dressed. This might seeme to have beene a tollerable piece of justice (as justice goeth in Russia) except his subtill end to cover his owne oppressions.

3

To make an open shew of want, when anie great taxe or imposition is towards. As was done by this emperour Theodore Ivanowich, by the advise of some about him at the beginning of his reigne: when, being left verie rich (as was thought) by his father, he sold most of his plate, and stamped some into coyne, that hee might seeme to want money. Whereupon presently out came a taxation.

4

To suffer their subjects to give freely to the monasteries (which for their superstition very many doe, specially in their last wils), and to lay up their money and substance in

them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or proviso, as was and is in some countries of Christendome. Whereby their monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they do to have the money of the realme better stored together, and more ready for their hand when they list to take it. Which manie times is done without anie noyse: the fryers beeyng content rather to part from somewhat (as the encrease groweth) then to loose all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other emperours dayes.

A strange practise to get money.

To this end Ivan Vasilowich, late emperour, used a very strange practise, that few princes would have done in their greatest extremities. He resigned his kingdome to one Velica Knez Simeon, the emperours sonne of Cazan: as though hee meant to draw himselfe from al publike doings to a quiet privat life.[1] Towards the end of the yeere, hee caused this newe king to call in all charters graunted to bishoprickes and monasteries, which they had enjoyed manie hundred yeeres before. Which were all cancelled. This done (as in dislike of the fact and of the misgovernment of the newe king) hee resumed his scepter, and so was content (as in favour to the Church and religious men) that they should renew their charters and take them of himselfe: reserving and annexing to the crowne so much of their lands as himselfe thought good.

By this practise hee wrung from the bishoprickes and monasteries (besides the landes which he annexed to the crowne) an huge masse of money. From some 40, from some 50, from some an hundred thousande rubbels. And this aswell for the increase of his treasurie, as to abate the ill

[1] [The temporary resignation of his crown by Ivan to the Tartar Khan Ssain Bulat, baptized under the name of Simeon, is referred to December 1575. The Regency of Simeon lasted till September 1576. See Hamel's *England and Russia*, transl. by J. S. Leigh. London, 8vo., 1854, p. 228. Horsey gives a few particulars in the earlier part of his narrative.]

opinion of his harde government, by a shewe of woorse in an other man. Wherein his strange spirite is to bee noted: that beyng hated of his subjectes (as himselfe knew wel inough) yet would venture such a practise, to set another in his saddle, that might have ridde away with his horse while himselfe walked by on foote.

5

To sende their messengers into the provinces or shires, where the special commodities of their countrey grow, as furres, waxe, hony, &c. There to forestall and ingrosse somtime one whole commodity, sometime two or more, taking them at smal prices what themselves list, and selling them againe at an excessive rate to their own marchants, and to marchants strangers. If they refuse to buy them, then to force them unto it.

The like is done when any commoditie, eyther native or forreine (as cloth of golde, broade cloth, &c.) thus engrossed by the emperour and received into his treasurie, happeneth to decay or marre by long lying, or some other casualtie. Which is forced upon the marchants to be bought by them at the emperours price, whether they will or no. This last yeere of 1589 was engrossed all the waxe of the countrey: so that none might deale with that commoditie, but the emperour onely.

6

To take up and engrosse in like sort sometime forreine commodities (as silkes, cloth, ledde, pearle, &c.) brought into his realm by Turkish marchants, Armenians, Bougharians, Poles, English, and other. And then to force his marchants to buy them of his officers at his owne price.

7

To make a monopoly for the time of such commodities as are paid him for rent or custom, and to inhanse the price of them, as furres, corn, wood, &c. What time none must sell

of the same kind of commodity, til the emperors be all sold. By this means hee maketh of his rent, corn, and other provision of victual (as before was said) about 200,000 rubbels or marks a yeere. Of his rent, wood, hay, &c., 30,000 rubbels or thereabouts.

8

In every great towne of his realme he hath a *caback* or drinking house, where is sold *aquavitæ* (which they cal Russe wine) mead, beere, &c. Out of these hee receiveth rent that amounteth to a great summe of money. Some yeeld 800, some 900, some 1000, some 2000 or 3000 rubbels a yere. Wherein, besides the base and dishonourable meanes to encrease his treasurie, many foule faultes are committed. The poore labouring man and artificer, manie times spendeth all from his wife and children. Some use to lay in twentie, thirtie, fourtie rubbels or more into the *caback*, and vowe themselves to the pot till all that be spent. And this (as he will say) for the honour of *hospodare* or the emperour. You shall have manie there that have drunk all away to the verie skinne, and so walk naked (whom they call *naga*). While they are in the *caback* none may call them foorth whatsoever cause there be, because he hindereth the emperours revenue.

9

To cause some of his *boiarens*, or nobles of his court (whom he useth upon trust), that have houses in the Mosko, to faine them selves robbed. Then to send for the *zemskey* men, or aldermen of the citie, and to commaund them to finde out the robberie. In default of not finding it, to prave or seasse the citie for their misgovernment in 8,000, 9,000, or 10,000 rubbels at a time. This is many times practised.

10

In these exactions to shew their soveraigntie, sometimes

they use very plaine, and yet strange cavillations. As was that of Ivan Vasilowich, father to this emperour, after this sort. He sent into Permia for certaine loads of cedar wood, whereof hee knew that none grew in that countrey. The inhabitants returned answere they could find none there. Whereupon hee seassed their countrey in 12,000 rubbels, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpose. Againe he sent to the citie of Mosko to provide for him a *colpack* or measure full of live fleas for a medicine. They returned answere that the thing was impossible. And if they could get them, yet they could not measure them for leaping out. Whereupon he praved or beat out of their shinnes 7,000 rubbels for a mulct.

By like cavillation hee extorted from his nobilitie 30,000 rubbels, because he missed of his game when he went a hunting for the hare: as if their hunting and murdering of hares had bin the cause of it. Which the nobilitie (as the manner is) praved presently againe upon the *mousicks* or common people of the countrie. This may seeme a straunge kinde of extortion, by such pleasant cavils to fliese his poore subjectes in good sadnesse: but that it agreeth with the qualitie of those emperours, and the miserable subjection of that poore countrie.

These, and such like meanes, are practised by the emperours of Russia, to encrease their treasurie.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the state of the Communaltie, or vulgar sorte of people in the countrie of Russia.

THE condition of the commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly be understood by that which already hath bin

said concerning the manner of their government and the state of the nobilitie, with the ordering of their provinces and chiefe townes of the land. And first, touching their libertie, how it standeth with them, it may appear by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor have any suffrage nor place in their *zabore* or high court of parliament, where their lawes and publique orders are concluded upon. Which commonly tend to the oppression of the commons. For the other two degrees, viz., of the nobilitie and cleargie, which have a vote in the parliaments (though farre from that libertie that ought to bee in common consultations for the publique benefite, according to the measure and proportion of their degrees) are well contented that the whole burden shall light upon the commons, so they may ease their owne shoulders by laying all upon them. Againe, into what servile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the prince, but to the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie (who themselves also are but servile, specially of late yeares), it may farther appeare by their owne acknowledgments in their supplications and other writings to any of the nobles or chiefe officers of the emperours. Wherein they name and subscribe themselves *kolophey*, that is, their villaines or bondslaves: as they of the nobilitie doo unto the emperour. This may truly be saide of them, that there is no servant nor bondslave more awed by his maister, nor kept downe in a more servile subjection, then the poore people are, and that universally, not only by the emperour, but by his nobilitie, chief officers, and souldiers. So that when a poore *mousick* meeteth with any of them upon the high way, he must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall down with knocking of his head to the very ground, as he doth unto his idoll.

The servile and miserable estate of the Russe people.

Secondly, concerning the landes, goods, and other possessions of the commons, they answere the name and lie common indeed without any fense against the rapine and spoile,

not onely of the highest, but of his nobilitie, officers, and souldiers. Besides the taxes, customes, seazures, and other publique exactions done upon them by the emperour, they are so racked and pulled by the nobles, officers, and messengers sent abroad by the emperour in his publique affaires, specially in the *yammes* (as they call them) and thorough faire townes, that you shall have many villages and townes of halfe a mile and a mile long, stande all unhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreame usage and exactions done upon them. So that in the way towards Mosko, betwixt Vologda and Yaruslaveley (which is two nineties after their reckoning, litle more then an hundredth miles English) there are in sigt fiftie *darieunes* or villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long, that stand vacant and desolate without any inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the realme (as is said by those that have better travelled the countrie then my selfe had time or occasion to doo).

The great oppression over the poore commons, maketh them to have no courage in following their trades: for that the more they have the more daunger they are in, not onely of their goods but of their lives also. And if they have any thing, they conceale it all they can, sometimes conveying it into monasteries, sometimes hiding it under the ground and in woods, as men are woont to doo where they are in feare of forreine invasion. In so much that many times you shall see them afraid to be knowen to any *boiuren* or gentleman of such commodities as they have to sell. I have seene them sometimes when they have layed open their commodities for a liking (as their principall furres and such like) to looke still behind them and towards every doore: as men in some feare, that looked to be set upon and surprised by some enimie. Whereof asking the cause, I found it to be this, that they have doubted least some nobleman or *sinaboiarskey* of the emperour had bene in companie, and so layed

a traine for them to pray upon their commodities perforce.

This maketh the people (though otherwise hardened to beare any toile) to give themselves much to idlenes and drinking: as passing for no more then from hand to mouth. And hereof it commeth that the commodities of Russia (as was said before) as wax, tallow, hydes, flaxe, hempe, &c., grow and goe abroad in farre lesse plentie then they were woont to doo: because the people, being oppressed and spoiled of their gettings, are discouraged from their laboures. Yet this one thing is much to be noted, that in all this oppression there were three brethren marchants of late, that traded together with one stocke in common, that were found to bee woorth 300,000 rubbels in money, besides landes, cattels, and other commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings far of from the eye of the court, vz., in Wichida, a 1000 miles from Mosko and more. The same are said by those that knew them to have set on worke all the yeare long ten thousand men in making of salt, carriages by cart and boat, hewing of wood, and such like: besides 5,000 bondslaves at the least, to inhabite and till their land.

They had also their physitions, surgeons, apothecaries, and all manner of artificers, of Doutches [Germans], and others, belonging unto them. They are said to have paied to the emperour for custome to the sum of 23,000 rubbles a yeare (for which cause they were suffered to enjoy their trade) besides mainteining of certeine garrisons on the borders of Siberia, the which were neare unto them. Wherin the emperour was content to use their purse, till such time as they had got ground in Siberia and made it habitable, by burning and cutting downe woods from Wichida to Perm, above a 1,000 verse, and then tooke it all away from them perforce.

But this in the end beyng envied and disdained, as a matter not standing with their pollicie to have any so great, specially a *mousick*, the emperour began first to pull from them

by pieces, sometimes 20,000 rubbels at a time, sometime more: till in the end their sonnes that now are, are well eased of their stocke, and have but small parte of their fathers substance: the rest being drawen all into the emperours treasurie. Their names were Jacove, Gregorie, and Simon, the sonnes of Onyka.

The tyranny and oppression over their very minds and wits.

For the qualitie of their people otherwise, though there seemeth to be in them some aptnesse to receyve any art (as appeareth by the naturall wittes in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common arte, much lesse in any learning or litterall kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpose, as they are also from all militarie practise: that they may be fitter for the servile condition wherein now they are, and have neyther reason nor valure to attempt innovation. For this purpose also they are kept from traveling, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other countries abroad. You shall seldome see a Russe a traveller, except he be with some ambassadour, or that he make a scape out of his countrie. Which hardly he can doo, by reason of the borders that are watched so narrowly, and the punishment for any such attempt, which is death if he be taken, and all his goods confiscate. Onely they learne to write and to read, and that very few of them. Neither doo they suffer any straunger willingly to come into their realme out of any civill countrie for the same cause, farther then necessitie of uttering their commodities and taking in of forreine doth enforce them to doo.

The jealousie of the emperour concerning his state.

And therefore this yeare 1589 they consulted about the removing of all marchants straungers to the border townes, to abide and have their residencie there, and to bee more wary in admitting other straungers hereafter into the inland parts of the realm, for feare of infection with bettter manners and qualities then they have of their owne. For the same purpose also they are kept within the boundes of their de-

gree by the lawes of their countrie: so that the sonne of a *mousick*, artificer, or husbandman, is ever a *mousick*, artificer, &c.: and hath no means to aspire any higher: except, having learned to write and read, he attaine to the preferment of a priest or dyack. Their language is all one with the Slavonian, which is thought to have bene derived from the Russe tongue, rather then the Russe from the Slavonian. For the people called Sclavi are knowen to have had their beginning out of Sarmatia, and to have termed themselves of their conquest *Sclavos* (that is) famous or glorious, of the word *sclava*, which, in the Russe and Slavonian tongue, signifieth as much as glory or fame. Though afterwards being subdued and trod upon by divers nations, the Italians their neighbours have turned the worde to a contrary signification, and terme every servant or peasant by the name of *sclave*, as did the Romanes by the Getes and Syrians, for the same reason. The Russe character or letter is no other then the Greeke, somewhat distorted.

Concerning their trades, diet, apparell, and such like, it is to be noted in a severall chapter of their private behaviour. This order that bindeth every man to keepe his rancke and severall degree, wherin his forefathers lived before him, is more meet to keepe the subjects in a servile subjection, and so apt for this and like common-wealths, then to advaunce any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent qualitie in nobilitie or commons: as having no farther rewarde nor preferment whereunto they may bend their endevours and imploy themselves to advaunce their estate, but rather procuring more danger to themselves the more they excell in any noble or principall qualitie.

CHAP. XIV.

Of their publique justice, and manner of proceeding in civill and criminall matters.

THEIR courts of civil justice for matters of contract, and other of like sort, are of three kinds, the one beyng subject unto the other by way of appeale. The lowest court (that seemeth to be appointed for some ease to the subjects) is the office of the *gubnoy starust*, that signifieth an alderman, and of the *sotskoy starust*, or bailief of the soake or hundred, wherof I spake before in the ordering of the provinces. These may ende matters among their neighbours within their soke or several hundred, where they are appointed under the dukes and diacks of the provinces, to whom the parties may remove their matter, if they cannot be agreed by the said *gubnoy* or *sotskoy starust*. Courts of civill justice, three.

The second is kept in the head townes of every province or shire, by the said dukes and diacks, that are deputies to the foure lords of the chetfirds (as before was sayd). From these courts they may appeale, and remove their suites to the chiefe court, that is kept at the Mosko, where are resident the officers of the foure chetfirds. These are the chiefe justices or judges, every of them in all civill matters that grow within their severall chetfird or quarter, and may be either commenced originally before them, or prosequuted out of the inferiour courts of the shires by way of appeale. The dukes and diacks court. The high court of Mosko.

Their commencing and proceeding in civill actions is on this manner. First, the plaintife putteth up his supplication, wherein hee declareth the effect of his cause or wrong done unto him. Whereupon is granted unto him a *wepis* or warrant, which hee delivereth to the *præstave* or sergeant, to doo the arrest upon the partie whom he meaneth to implead. Who, upon the arrest, is to put in suerties to Their manner of proceeding in civill matters.

answere the day appointed, or els standeth at the sergeants devotion, to be kept safe by such meanes as he thinketh good.

The sergeants are many, and excell for their hard and cruell dealing towards their prysoners; commonly they clappe irons upon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out of them some larger fees. Though it bee but for sixe pence, you shall see them goe with chaynes on their legges, armes, and necke. When they come before the judge, the plaintife beginneth to declare his matter after the content of his supplication. As for attourneis, counsellours, procuratours, and advocates, to plead their cause for them, they have no such order, but every man is to tell his owne tale, and plead for himselfe so well as he can.

Ending of controversies by kissing the crosse.

If they have any witnesse or other evidence, they produce it before the judge. If they have none, or if the truth of the cause cannot so well bee decerned by the plea or evidence on both partes: then the judge asketh eyther partie (which hee thinketh good, plaintife or defendant) whether hee will kisse the crosse upon that which he avoucheth or denieth. Hee that taketh the crosse (being so offered by the judge) is accounted cleare, and carrieth away the matter. This ceremonie is not done within the court or office, but the partie is carried to the church by an officer, and there the ceremonie is done: the mony in the meane while hanging upon a naile, or els lying at the idols feete, ready to be delivered to the partie as soone as he hath kissed the crosse before the said idoll.

This kissing of the crosse (called *Creustina chelovania*) is as their corporall oath, and accounted with them a very holy thing, which no man will dare to violate or prophane with a false allegation. If both parties offer to kisse the crosse in a contradictorie matter, then they drawe lottes. The better lotte is supposed to have the right, and beareth away the matter. So the partie convicted is adjudged to pay the debt

Judgement by lotte.

or penaltie whatsoever, and withall to pay the emperours fees, which is twentie pence upon every marke, as before hath bene noted.

When the matter is thus ended, the party convicted is delivered to the sergeant, who hath a writte for his warrant out of the office to carry him to the *praveush* or righter of justice, if presently hee pay not the monie or content not the partie. This *praveush* or righter, is a place neare to the office: where such as have sentence passed against them, and refuse to pay that which is adjudged, are beaten with great cudgels on the shinnes and calves of their legges. Every forenoone, from eight to eleven, they are set on the *praveush*, and beate in this sort till the monie be payd. The afternoone and night time they are kepte in chaines by the sergeant: except they put in sufficient suerties for their apparance at the *praveush* at the hower appointed. You shall see fortie or fiftie stand together on the *praveush* all on a rowe, and their shinnes thus becudgelled and bebasted every morning with a piteous crie. If, after a yeares standing on the *praveush*, the partie will not, or lacke wherewithall to satisfie his creditour, it is lawfull for him to sell his wife and children, eyther out right or for a certaine terme of yeares. And if the price of them doo not amount to the full payment, the creditour may take them to bee his bondslaves for yeares or for ever, according as the value of the debt requireth.

Such kinde of suites as lacke direct evidence, or stande upon conjectures and circumstances to bee waighed by the judge, drawe of great length, and yeeld great advantage to the judge and officers. If the suite be upon a bond or bill, they have for the moste parte good and speedy justice. Their bonds or billes are drawen in a very plaine sorte, after this tenour. *I, Ivan Vasilco, have borrowed of Alphonasse Dementio the summe of one hundred rubbles of going money of Mosko, from the Kreshenea* (or hallowing of the water)

The forme of Russe bils or bonds.

untill the Saburney voscreshenca (or counsell Sunday) *without interest. And if this money rest unpayed after that day, then hee shall give interest upon the sayd money, after the common rate as it goeth among the people, viz., for everie five the sixt rubbell. Upon this there are witnesses, Micheta Sydroveskoy, &c., subscribed. This bill have I written, Gabriell Jacovelesni, in the yeare* 7096. The witnesses and debter (if he can write) endorse their names on the backe side of the bill. Other signing or sealing have they none.

Proceeding in criminall matters.

When any is taken for a matter of crime (as treason, murder, thefte, and such like) hee is first brought to the duke and diack that are for the province where the partie is attached, by whom hee is examined. The manner of examination in such cases is all by torture, as scourging with whips made of sinowes or whitleather (called the *pudkey*) as bigge as a mans finger, which giveth a sore lash and entreth into the flesh, or by tying to a spit and rosting at the fire; sometimes by breaking and wresting one of their ribbes with a payre of hote tongues, or cutting their flesh under the nayles, and such like.

The examination thus taken, with all the proofes and evidences that can bee alleadged against the partie, it is sent up to the Mosko to the lord of the chetfird or fourth-parte under whom the province is, and by him is presented to the counsell table, to bee read and sentenced there, where onely judgement is given in matter of life and death, and that by evidence upon information, though they never sawe nor heard the partie, who is kept still in pryson where the fact was committed, and never sent up to the place where he is tried. If they find the partie guiltie, they give sentence of death according to the qualitie of the fact: which is sent downe by the lord of the chetfird, to the duke and diack to bee put in execution. The prisoner is carried to the place of execution with his handes bounde, and a waxe candle burning helde betwixt his fingers.

Their capitall punishmentes are hanging, hedding, knocking on the head, drowning, putting under the yse, setting on a stake, and such like. But, for the most part, the prisoners that are condemned in summer are kept for the winter, to be knockt in the head and put under the yse. This is to bee understood of common persons: for theft and murder, if they be committed upon a poore mousick by one of nobilitie, are not lightly punished, nor yet is hee called to any account for it. Their reason is, because they are accounted their *kolophey* or bondslaves. If by some *sinaboiarskey*, or gentleman souldier, a murder or theft bee committed, peradventure he shal be imprisoned at the emperours pleasure. If the manner of the fact be verie notorious, he is whipped perchance, and this is commonly all the punishment that is inflicted upon them.

If a man kill his owne servant, little or nothing is said unto him, for the same reason: because hee is accounted to be his *kolophey* or bondslave, and so to have right over his verie head. The most is some small mulct to the emperour if the partie be rich: and so the quarell is made rather against the purse then against the injustice. They have no written law, save onely a smal booke, that conteineth the time and manner of their sitting, order in proceeding, and such other judicial forms and circumstances; but nothing to direct them to give sentence upon right or wrong. Their onely law is their *speaking law*, that is, the pleasure of the prince, and of his magistrates and officers.[1] Which sheweth the miserable condition of this poore people, that are forced to have them for their law and direction of justice, against whose injustice and extreame oppression they had neede to be armed with many good and strong lawes.

[1] [This statement appears at variance with the known fact that Ivan Vasilovitsch composed a body of law, founded on the code of Ivan III, and highly esteemed. He promulgated it in the year 1550; but it was not printed till a full century later, in the reign of Alexis Michailovitsch. See *Karamsin;* ed. Paris, 1819-1826, vol. viii, p. 85.]

CHAP. XV.

Their forces for the warres, with the chief officers and their salaries.

THE souldiers of Russia are called *sinaboiarskey*, or the sons of gentlemen: because they are all of that degree by vertue of their military profession. For every souldier in Russia is a gentleman, and none are gentlemen but only the souldiers, that take it by discent from their ancestors: so that the sonne of a gentleman (which is borne a souldier) is ever a gentleman and a souldier withal, and professeth nothing els but militarie matters. When they are of yeeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of *roserade* or great constable, and there present themselves: who entreth their names, and allotteth them certeine lands to maintein their charges, for the most part the same that their fathers enjoyed. For the lands assigned to mainteine the army are ever certein, annexed to this office, without improving or detracting one foot. But that if the emperour have sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the lande doeth extend already, they are manie times deferred, and have nothing allowed them except some one portion of the land be devided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that countrie: when a souldier that hath many children, shal have sometimes but one intertained in the emperours pay. So that the rest, having nothing, are forced to live by unjust and wicked shiftes, that tend to the hurt and oppression of the *mousick*, or common sort of people. This inconvenience groweth by mainteining his forces in a continual succession. The whole number of his souldiers in continual pay is this. First, he hath of his *dworaney*, that is, pensioners or gard of his person, to the number of 15,000 horsemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

Of these 15,000 horsemen there are three sorts or degrees, that differ aswell in estimation as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called *dworaney bulshey*, or the company of head pensioners, that have some an hundred, some fourscore rubbels a yeere, and none under 70. The second sort are called *seredney dworaney*, or the middle ranke of pensioners. These have sixty, or fiftie rubbels by the yere, none under fourtie. The third and lowest sort are the *dyta boiarskey*, that is, the lowe pensioners. Their salarie is thirty rubbels a yere for him that hath most, some have but five and twentie, some twentie, none under twelve. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the Mosko, the other halfe in the field by the generall, when they have anie warres and are imployed in service. When they receive their whole pay, it amounteth to 55,000 rubbels by the yeere.

Degrees of horsemen.

1. *Prætoriani*, or such as attend the emperours person, 15,000.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to every one of them, both to the greater and the lesse according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him twentie rubbels or marks by the yeere. Besides these 15,000 horsemen, that are of better choyce (as being the emperors own gard when himself goeth to the warres, not unlike the Romane souldiers called *prætorians*) are a 110 men of special account for their nobilitie and trust, which are chosen by the emperour and have their names registred, that find among them for the emperours warres to the number of 65,000 horsemen, with all necessaries meet for the warres after the Russe manner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65,000.

To this end they have yeerely allowance made by the emperour for themselves and their companies, to the summe of 40,000 rubbels. And these 65,000 are to repaire to the field every yeere on the borders towards the Chrim Tartar (except they bee appoynted for some other service) whether there be warres with the Tartars or not. This might seeme peradventure somwhat dangerous for some state, to have so great

forces under the command of noblemen, to assemble everie yeere to one certeine place. But the matter is so used as that no danger can grow to the emperour or his state, by this meanes. 1. Besides these noblemen are many, to wit, an 110 in all, and changed by the emperor so oft as he thinketh good. 2. Because they have their livings of the emperour, being otherwise but of very small revenue, and receive this yeerely pay of 40,000 rubbels, when it is presently to be paide foorth againe to the souldiers that are under them. 3. Because, for the most part, they are about the emperours person, being of his councel, either speciall or at large. 4. They are rather as paymasters then captaines to their companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the warres, save when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the emperour himselfe. So the whole number of horsemen, that are ever in a readinesse and in continuall pay, are 80,000, a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continuall pay, 80,000.

If hee have neede of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then he interteineth of those *sinaboiarskey*, that are out of pay, so many as hee needeth: and if yet hee want of his number, he giveth charge to his noblemen that hold lands of him, to bring into the fielde every man a proportionable number of his servants (called *kolophey*, such as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the just number that he intendeth to make. Which, the service being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their servile occupations againe.

Footmen in continuall pay, 12,000.

Of footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12,000, all gunners, called *strelsey*. Whereof 5,000 are to attend about the citie of Mosko, or any other place where the emperour shall abide, and 2,000 (which are called *stremaney strelsey*, or gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person, at the verie court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garrison townes till there be occasion to have them in the fielde, and receive for their salarie

or stipend every man seven rubbels a yeere, besides twelve measures a piece of rye and oates. Of mercenarie souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call *nimschoy*), they have at this time 4,300 of Polonians: of Chirchasses[1] (that are under the Polonians) about 4 thousand, whereof 3,500 are abroad in his garrisons: of Doutches and Scots, about 150: of Greekes, Turks, Danes, and Sweadens, all in one band, an 100 or thereabouts. But these they use onely upon the Tartar side, and against the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but onely for the present) on the other side against the Polonian and Sweaden: thinking it best pollicie so to use their service upon the contrary border.

Strangers, mercenaries, in pay, 4,300.

The chiefe captaines or leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the *voyavodey bulshaia*, that is, the great captaine, or lieftenant generall under the emperour. This, commonly, is one of the foure houses of the chiefe nobilitie of the lande: but so chosen otherwise as that hee is of small valure or practise in martiall matters, beeyng thought to serve that turne so much the better, if hee bring no other partes with him save the countenance of his nobilitie, to bee liked of by the souldiers for that and nothing els. For in this poynt they are very warie that these two (to wit) nobilitie and power, meet not both in one, specially if they see wisedome with all, or aptnesse for pollicie.

The chiefe captaines or leaders. 1. The *voiavod*, or generall.

Their great *voiavod*, or generall, at this present in their warres, is commonly one of these foure: Knez Feodor Ivanowich Methisloskey [Mstislavskoy], Knez Ivan Michailowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy,[2] and Trowbetskoy,[3] all of great nobilitie, but of very simple qualitie otherwise: though in Glins-

[1] [A people settled on the borders of the Dnieper, and who gave their name to the town Tcherkass. Karamsin connects them with the Cossacks. See ed. Par., vol. v, p. 37.]

[2] [Knez Vasilei, or Knez Boris, Tscherkaskoi ?]

[3] [Knez Ivan Michailovitsch Trubetskoi ?]

2. Liefetenant generall.

koy (as they say) there is somewhat more then in the rest. To make up this defect in the *voiavod* or generall, there is some other joyned with him as lieftenant generall, of farre lesse nobilitie, but of more valure and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and most used in their warres, is one Knez Demetrie Ivanowich Forestine [Chworostinin], an auncient and expert captaine, and one that hath done great service (as they say) against the Tartar and Polonian. Next under the *voiavod* and his lieftenant generall are foure other, that have the marshalling of the whole army devided among them, and may be called the marshals of the field.

3. Marshals of the field, foure.

Every man hath his quarter, or fourth part under him. Whereof the first is called the *prava polskoy*, or right wing. The second is the *levoy polskoy*, or left wing. The third is *rusnoy polskoy*, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroade upon any sodaine exploit, or to make a rescue or supply as occasion doth require. The fourth, *storeshovoy polskoy*, or the warding bande. Every one of these foure marshals have two other under them (eight in all), that twise every weeke at the least must muster and traine their several wings or bands, and hold and give justice for all faultes and disorders committed in the campe.

Foure marshals deputies 8.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110 (which I spake of before) that receive and deliver the pay to the souldiers. Under these eight are divers other captains, as the *gulavoy*, captains of thousands, five hundreds, and 100; the *petyde setskoy*, or captaines of fifties; and the *decetskies*, or captaines of tennes.

Five coronels under captaines.

Besides the *voiavoda* or generall of the armie (spoken of before), they have two other that beare the name of *voiavoda:* whereof one is the master of the great ordinance (called *naradna voiavoda*) who hath divers under officers, necessarie for that service. The other is called the *voiavoda gulavoy*, or the walking captaine, that hath alowed him 1,000

Sixe masters of the artillerie.

The walking captaine.

good horsemen of principall choyse, to range and spie abroad, and hath the charge of the running castle, which we are to speake of in the chapter folowing. All these captaines and men of charge must once every day resort to the *bulsha voiavoda*, or generall of the armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him if there be any requisite matter perteining to their office.

CHAP. XVI.

Of their mustering and levying of forces, manner of armour, and provision of victuall for the warres.

WHEN warres are towards (which they fayle not of lightly every yeere with the Tartar, and manie times with the Polonian and Sweden) the foure lordes of the *chetfirds* sende foorth their summons in the emperours name to all the dukes and dyacks of the provinces, to bee proclaymed in the head townes of every shire: that all the *sinaboiarskey*, or sonnes of gentlemen, make their repaire to such a border where the service is to be done, at such a place and by such a day, and there present them selves to such and such captaines. When they come to the place assigned them in the summons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that have commission for that pourpose from the *roserade* or high constable, as clarkes of the bandes. Their order for mustering.

If any make default and faile at the day, hee is mulcted and punished very severely. As for the generall and other chiefe captaines, they are sent thither from the emperours owne hande, with such commission and charge as hee thinketh behoofull for the present service. When the souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their bands and companies under their severall captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c., and these bands into foure *polskeis* or

legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romaine legions were) under their foure great leaders, which also have the authoritie of marshals of the fielde (as was sayd before).

The horsemans furniture.

Concerning their armour, they are but slightly appointed. The common horseman hath nothing els but his bow in his case under his right arme, and his quiver and sword hanging on the left side: except some fewe, that beare a case of dagges, or a javelin, or short staffe along their horse side. The under captains wil have commonly some piece of armour besides, as a shirt of male, or such like. The generall, with the other chiefe captaines and men of nobilitie, will have their horse very richly furnished, their saddles of cloth of golde, their bridles faire bossed and tasselled with golde and silke fringe, bestudded with pearle and precious stones, themselves in very faire armour, which they call *bullatnoy*, made of faire shining steele, yet covered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged rounde with armin furre, his steele helmet on his head of a very great price, his sword, bow, and arrowes at his side, his speare in his hande, with an other faire helmet, and his *shestapera*, or horsemans sceptcr, carried before him. Their swordes, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise, like the Tartar, to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footemans furniture.

The *strelsey* or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hande, his striking hatchet at his backe, and his sworde by his side. The stocke of his piece is not made caliever wise, but with a plaine and straite stocke (somewhat like a fowling piece). The barrel is rudely and unartificially made, very heavie, yet shooteth but a very small bullet. As for their

Provision of victuall.

provision of victuall, the emperour alloweth none, either for captaine or souldiour, neither provideth any for them, except peradventure some corne for their money. Every man is to bring sufficient for him selfe to serve his turne for foure moneths, and, if neede require, to give order for more to bee

brought unto him to the campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place. One great helpe they have, that for lodging and diet every Russe is prepared to bee a souldiour beforehand. Though the chiefe captaines and other of account carry tents with them after the fashion of ours, with some better provision of victuall then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the campe for victuall a kinde of dryed bread (which they call *sucharie*), with some store of meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a ball or small lumpe of dowe, called *tollockno*. And this they eate raw in steade of bread. Their meate is bacon, or some other flesh or fish dryed, after the Dutch manner. If the Russe souldier were as hardy to execute an enterprise as he is hard to beare out toyle and travaile, or were otherwise as apt and wel trained for the warres as he is indifferent for his lodging and dyet, hee would farre exceede the souldiours of our partes. Whereas now he is farre meaner of courage and execution in any warlike service. Which commeth partly of his servile condition, that will not suffer any great courage or valure to growe in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which he hath no great hope of, whatsoever service or execution he doe.

CHAP. XVII.

Of their marching, charging, and other martiall discipline.

The Russe trusteth rather to his number then to the valure of his souldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, save that the foure *polskey* or legions (whereinto their armie is devided) keepe themselves several under their ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their generall.

Their ensigne is the image of Saint George. The *bulsha dworaney*, or chiefe horsemen, have every man a small drumme of brass at his saddle bowe, which hee striketh when hee giveth the charge or onset.

Horsemens drummes.

The horsemans manner of charging.

They have drummes besides of a huge bignesse, which they carry with them upon a boarde layde on foure horses, that are sparred together with chaines, every drumme having eight strikers or drummers, besides trumpets and shawmes, which they sounde after a wilde manner, much different from ours. When they give any charge, or make any invasion, they make a great hallowe or shoute altogether as loude as they can, which with the sound of their trumpets, shawmes, and drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their arrowes, then dealing with their swordes, which they use in a brâverie to shake and brandish over their heads before they come to strokes.

The footemans charge.

Their footemen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of advantage, where they may most annoy the enemie with least hurt to themselves. If it bee a set battell, or if any great invasion be made upon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set within the running or moving castle (called *beza*, or *gulay gorod*) which is caried about with them by the *voiavoda gulavoy* (or the walking general) whom I spake of before. This walking or mooving castle is so framed that it may bee set up in length (as occasion doeth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, five, sixe, or seven miles: for so long it will reach. It is nothing els but a double wall of wood to defende them on both sides behinde and before, with a space of three yardes or thereabouts betwixt the two sides: so that they may stande within it, and have roome ynough to charge and discharge their pieces and to use their other weapons. It is closed at both endes, and made with loope holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their piece

The walking castle.

or to push foorth any other weapon. It is carried with the armie wheresoever it goeth, being taken into pieces and so layed on cartes sparred together and drawen by horse that are not seene, by reason that they are covered with their carriage as with a shelfe or pent-house. When it is brought to the place where it is to be used (which is divided and chosen out before by the walking *voiavod*), it is planted so much as the present use requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three, or more: which is soone done without the helpe of any carpenter or instrument, because the timber is so framed to clasp together one piece within an other, as is easily understood by those that know the maner of the Russe building.

In this castle standeth their shotte well fenced for advantage, specially against the Tartar, that bringeth no ordinance nor other weapon into the field with him, save his swoord and bow and arrowes. They have also within it divers field pieces, which they use as occasion doth require. Of pieces for the field they carry no great store, when they warre against the Tartar; but when they deale with the Polonian (of whose forces they make more account) they goe better furnished with al kind of munition and other necessary provisions. It is thought that no prince of Christendome hath better stoare of munition then the Russe emperour. And it may partly appeare by the artillerie house at Mosko, where are of all sortes of great ordnance, all brasse pieces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Russe souldier is thought to be better at his defence within some castle or town, then hee is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is ever noted in the practise of his warres, and namely, at the siege of Vobsko [Pskof], about eight yeares since: where hee repulsed the Polonian king Stepan Batore, with his whole armie of 100,000 men, and forced him in the ende to give over his siege, with the losse of many of his best captaines and souldiers. But in a set field

the Russe is noted to have ever the worse of the Polonian and Sweden.

If any behave himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or doo any speciall piece of service, the emperour sendeth him a piece of golde, stamped with the image of Saint George on horsebacke, which they hang on their sleeves and set in their caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receive for any service they doo.

Reward for valure.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of their Colonies, and mainteyning of their conquests or purchases by force.

THE Russe emperours of late yeres have verie much enlarged their dominions and territories. Their first conquest after the dukedome of Mosko (for before that time they were but dukes of Volodomer, as before was sayd), was the citie and dukedome of Novograd on the west and northwest side: which was no small enlargement of their dominion, and strengthning to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by Ivan, great grandfather to Theodore, now emperour, about the yeare 1480. The same began likewise to encroach upon the countries of Lituania and Livonia; but the conquest, onely intended and attempted by him upon some parte of those countries, was pursued and performed by his sonne Basileus, who first wan the citie and dukedome of Plesko, afterwards the citie and dukedome of Smolensko, and many other faire towns, with a large territorie belonging unto them, about the yeare 1514. These victories against the Lettoes or Lituanians, in the time of Alexander their duke, he atchived rather by advantage of civill dissentions and treasons among themselves, then by any great

policie or force of his owne. But all this was lost againe by his sonne Ivan Vasilowich, about eight or nine yeares past, upon composition with the Polonian king Stepan Batore:[1] whereunto hee was forced by the advantages which the Pole had then of him, by reason of the foile he had given him before and the disquietnes of his owne state at home. Onely the Russe emperour at this time hath left him on that side his countrie the cities of Smolensko, Vitobsko, Chernigo, and Bealagorod in Lituania. In Livonia, not a towne nor one foote of ground.

Lituania.

When Basileus first conquered those countries, he suffered the natives to keepe their possessions and to inhabite all their townes, onely paying him a tribute, under the government of his Russe captaines. But by their conspiracies and attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more surely with them. And so comming upon them the second time, hee killed and carried away with him three partes of foure, which hee gave or solde to the Tartars that served him in those warres, and in steede of them placed there his Russes, so many as might overmatch the rest, with certaine garrisons of strength besides. Wherein notwithstanding this oversight was committed, for that taking away with him the upland or countrie people (that should have tilled the ground, and might easily have bene kept in order without any daunger by other good pollicies) he was driven afterwards many yeares together to vittaile the countrie (specially the great townes) out of his owne countrie of Russia, the soile lying there in the meane while wast and untilled.

Narve.

The like fell out at the port of Narve in Liefland, where his sonne, Ivan Vasilowich, devised to build a towne and a castle on the other side the river (called Ivangorod) to keepe the towne and countrie in subjection. The castle he caused

[1] [The war with Poland, rendered disastrous to the Russians by the genius of Stephen Batory, was terminated in January 1582 by a treaty, in which Russia surrendered her claims to Livonia and ceded Polotsk.]

to be so built and fortified, that it was thought to be invincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the architect (that was a Polonian), he put out both his eyes, to make him unable to build the like againe. But having left the natives all within their owne countrie, without abating their number or strength, the towne and castle not long after was betrayed, and surrendred againe to the king of Sweden.

On the southest side, they have got the kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan. These were wonne from the Tartar by the late emperour Ivan Vasilowich, father to the emperour that now is: the one about 35, the other about 33 yeares agoe.[1] Northward out of the countrie of Siberia he hath layed unto his realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the river of Obba, about a 1000 miles space: so that hee is bold to write himselfe now, the great commaunder of Siberia.[2]

Permia and Pechora. The countries likewise of Permia and Pechora are a divers people and language from the Russe, overcome not long since, and that rather by threatning and shaking of the sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

Meanes of holding his chiefe townes. That which the Russe hath in his present possession hee keepeth on this sort. In his foure chiefe border townes of Vobsko [Pskof], Smolensko, Astracan, and Cazan, he hath certeine of his counsell, not of greatest nobilitie but of greatest trust, which have more authoritie within their precincts (for the countenauncing and strengthning of their government there) then the other dukes that are set to governe in other places, as was noted before, in the manner of ordering their

[1] [The conquest of Cazan was effected in the year 1552; and that of Astracan in the year 1554.]

[2] [The subjugation of Siberia, mainly achieved in the years 1581-1584, by the heroic Cossack Jermak Timofeievitsch, was set on foot by a simple family of merchants—the illustrious Strogonoffs—almost without their sovereign's knowledge. What reward they gained by their services has been already related by our author. See p. 62.]

provinces. These hee chaungeth sometime every yeare, sometime every second or third yeare, but exceedeth not that time, except upon very speciall trust and good liking of the partie and his service: least by enlarging of their time they might grow into some familiaritie with the enimie (as some have done) being so farre out of sight.

Meanes of holding the countrie of Pechora, Permia, and Siberia.

The townes besides are very strongly fenced with trenches, castels, and store of munition, and have garisons within them to the number of two or three thousand a piece. They are stoared with vittaile if any siege should come upon them, for the space of two or three yeares before hande. The foure castels of Smolensko, Vobsko, Cazan, and Astracan, he hath made very strong to beare out any siege: so that it is thought that those townes are impregnable.

As for the countries of Pechora and Permia, and that part of Siberia which he hath now under him, they are kept by as easie meanes as they were first got, vz., rather by shewing then by using of armes. First, hee hath stoared the countrie with as manie Russes as there are natives, and hath there some fewe souldiers in garrison, inough to keepe them under. Secondly, his officers and magistrates there are of his owne Russe people, and hee chaungeth them very often, vz., every yeare twise or thrise, notwithstanding there bee no great feare of any innovation. Thirdly, he devideth them into many small governments, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so that they have no strength, beyng severed, which was but little neyther when they were all in one. Fourthly, hee provided that the people of the countrie have neither armour nor monie, beyng taxed and pilled so often as hee thinketh good: without any meanes to shake of that yoke or to relieve themselves.

In Siberia (where he goeth on in pursuing his conquest) he hath divers castles and garrisons, to the number of six thousand souldiers of Russes and Polonians, and sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and to inhabite as he

winneth ground. At this time besides he hath gotten the kings brother of Siberia, allured by certeine of his captaines, to leave his owne countrie by offers of great intertainement and pleasanter life with the Russe emperour then he had in Siberia. He was brought in this laste yeare, and is now with the emperour at Mosko well interteyned.

This may be sayd of the Russe practize, wheresoever he ruleth, either by right of inheritance or by conquest. First, he berieveth the countrie of armour and other means of defence, which he permitteth to none but to his *boiarskeis* onely. Secondly, he robbeth them continually of their monie and commodities, and leaveth them bare with nothing but their bodies and lives, within certeine yeares compasse. Thirdly, he renteth and devideth his territories into many small pieces by severall governments: so that none hath much under him to make any strength, though he had other oportunities. Fourthly, he governeth his countries by men of small reputation and no power of themselves, and straungers in those places where their government lieth. Fiftly, he chaungeth his governours once a yeare ordinarily, that there grow no great liking nor intiernesse betwixt the people and them, nor acquaintance with the enemy if they lie towards the borders. Sixtly, he appointeth in one and the same place adversarie governours, the one to bee as controller of the other, as the dukes and diacks: where (by meanes of their envies and emulations) there is lesse hurt to bee feared by their agreement, and himselfe is better infourmed what is done amisse. Seventhly, he sendeth many times into every province secrete messengers of speciall trust about him as intelligences, to prie and harken out what is doing and what is a misse there. And this is ordinary, though it be sodaine and unknowen what time they will come.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Tartars and other Borderers to the countrie of Russia, with whome they have most to doo in warre and peace.

THEIR neighbours with whom they have greatest dealings and intercourse, both in peace and warre, are, first, the Tartar. Secondly, the Polonian, whom the Russe calleth Laches, noting the first author or founder of the nation; who was called Laches or Leches, whereunto is added *po*, which signifieth people, and so is made Polaches, that is, the people or posteritie of Laches:[1] which the Latines after their manner of writing call Polanos. The third are the Swedens. The Polonians and Swedens are better knowen to these partes of Europe then are the Tartars, that are farther of from us (as being of Asia), and divided into many tribes, different both in name and government one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chrim Tartar (whome some call the Great Cham), that lieth south and southeastward from Russia, and doth most annoy the countrie by often invasions, commonly once every yeare, sometimes entring very farre within the inland parts. In the yeare 1571 he came as farre as the cittie of Mosko, with an armie of 200,000 men, without any battaile or resistance at all; for that the Russe emperour (then Ivan Vasilowich) leading foorth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way; but as it was thought of very purpose, as not daring to adventure the fielde, by reason that hee doubted his nobilitie and chiefe captaines of a meaning to betray him to the Tartar.

The Polonians called Laches by the Russe.

The Chrim Tartar.

The citie he tooke not, but fired[2] the suburbs, which by

[1] [In this etymology our author has followed Martinus Cromerus. See his work, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*, ed. Basil., fol. 1568, p. 17.]

[2] [The burning of Moscow by Deulet Gherey, Khan of the Crimea, has been already alluded to. See p. 17.]

The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeare 1571.

reason of the buildinges (which is all of wood, without any stone, brick, or lime, save certein out roomes) kindled so quickly and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compasse. Then might you have seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge and mighty flame of the citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streates, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the gates farthest from the enemie, where, meeting together in a mightie throng, and so pressing every man to prevent another, wedged themselves so fast within the gate and streates neare unto it, as that three ranks walked one upon the others head, the uppermost treading down those that were lower; so that there perished at that time (as was sayd) by the fire and the presse, the number of 800,000 people or more.

The Chrim thus having fired the citie and fedde his eyes with the sight of it all on a light flame, returned with his armie, and sent to the Russe emperour a knife (as was sayd) to sticke himselfe withall; obbraiding this losse and his desperate case, as not daring either to meet his enimy in the fielde nor to trust his friends or subjects at home. The principall cause of this continual quarel betwixt the Russe and the Chrim is for the right of certeine border parts claimed by the Tartar but possessed by the Russe. The Tartar alleageth that besides Astracan and Cazan (that are the ancient possession of the East Tartar), the whole countrie from his bounds north and westward so farre as the citie of Mosko, and Mosko it selfe, perteineth to his right. Which seemeth to have bene true by the report of the Russes themselves, that tell of a certeine homage that was done by the Russe emperour every yeare to the Great Chrim or Cham, the Russe emperour standing on foot and feeding the Chrims horse (himselfe sitting on his back) with oates out of his owne cap, in stead of a boule or maunger, and that

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar.

within the castle of Mosko. And this homage (they say) was done til the time of Basileus, grandfather to this man, who, surprising the Chrim emperor by a stratagem, done by one of his nobilitie (called Ivan Demetrowich Belschey), was content with this raunsome, vz., with the chaunging of this homage into a tribute of furres: which afterwards also was denied to be paied by this emperours father.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the Russe defending his countrie and that which he hath wonne, the Chrim Tartar invading him once or twise everie yeare, sometime about Whitsontide, but oftener in harvest. What time if the great Cham or Chrim come in his owne person, he bringeth with him a great army of 100,000 or 200,000 men. Otherwise they make shorte and sudden roads into the countrie with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wild geese flie, invading and retiring where they see advantage.

The manner of the Tartars fight and armour.

Their common practise (being very populous) is to make divers armies, and so drawing the Russe to one or two places of the frontiers, to invade at some other place that is left without defence. Their manner of fight, or ordering of their forces, is much after the Russe manner (spoken of before), save that they are all horsemen and carrie nothing els but a bow, a sheafe of arrowes, and a falcon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsmen, and use to shoot as readily backward as forward. Some wil have a horsmans staffe, like to a bore speare, besides their other weapons. The common souldier hath no other armour then his ordinary apparel, vz., a blacke sheeps skin, with the wooll side outward in the day time and inward in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their *morsvys* or noblemen imitate the Turke both in apparel and armour. When they are to passe over a river with their armie, they tie three or foure horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bind them fast to the tails of their horses: so sitting on the

poles they drive their horse over. At handie strokes (when they come to joyne battaile) they are accounted farre better men then the Russe people, fearse by nature, but more hardie and blouddy by continuall practise of warre : as men knowing no artes of peace nor any civill practise.

The subtiltie of the Tartar.

Yet their subtiltie is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to invade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant and ready witted to devise stratageams upon the suddaine for their better advantage. As in their warre against Beala, the fourth king of Hungarie, whome they invaded with 500,000 men and obteined against him a great victorie. Where, among other, having slaine his chauncellor, called Nicholas Schinick, they founde about him the kings privie seale. Whereupon they devised presently to counterfait letters in the kings name, to the cities and townes next about the place where the field was fought: with charge that in no case they should convey themselves and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of daunger, and not leave the countrie desolate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enimie as was the Tartar nation, terming themselves in all reprochfull manner. For notwithstanding he had lost his carriages and some fewe stragglers that had marched disorderly, yet hee doubted not but to recover that losse, with the accesse of a notable victorie, if the savage Tartar durst abide him in the fielde. To this purpose having written their letters in the Polish character, by certaine young men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the kings seale, they dispatched them foorth to all the quarters of Hungarie that lay neare about the place. Whereupon the Ungarians, that were now flying away with their goods, wives, and children, upon the rumour of the kings overthrow, taking comfort of these counterfait letters, stayed at home. And so were made a pray, being surprised on the

suddaine by this huge number of these Tartars, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a towne or fort they offer much parle, and sende many flattering messages to perswade a surrendry, promising all things that the inhabitants will require; but beyng once possessed of the place, they use all manner of hostilitie and crueltie. This they doo uppon a rule they have, vz., that justice is to be practised but towardes their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they have some ambush, whereunto, having once shewed themselves and made some short conflict, they retire as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enimie into it if they can. But the Russe being wel acquainted with their practise is more warie of them. When they come a roving with some small number, they set on horseback counterfait shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset their manner is to make a great shoote, crying all out together, *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe us, God helpe us.* They contemne death so much as that they chuse rather to die then to yeeld to their enimie, and are seene when they are slaine to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking or helping of themselves. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his desperate courage from the Russe and Turke. For the Russe souldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his safety in his speedie flight. And if once he be taken by his enemie, he neyther defendeth himselfe nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to die. The Turke commonly, when he is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth awaie his weapon, offereth both his handes, and holdeth them up as it were to be tyed: hoping to save his life by offering himselfe bondslave.

The chiefe bootie the Tartars seeke for in all their warres is to get store of captives, specially yong boyes and girls, whom they sell to the Turkes or other their neighbors. To

this purpose they take with them great baskets, made like bakers panniers, to carrie them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tyer or to be sicke on the way, they dash him against the ground or some tree, and so leave him dead. The souldiers are not troubled with keeping the captives and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they have certein bands that intend nothing els, appointed of purpose to receive and keepe the captives and the other praye.

The Tartar religion.

The Russe borders (being used to their invasions lightly every yeere in the sommer) keepe fewe other cattel on the border parts save swine onely, which the Tartar will not touch nor drive away with him; for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no swines flesh. Of Christ our Saviour they confesse asmuch as doeth the Turke in his *Alkaron* [Koran], vz., that hee came of the Angell Gabriel and the Virgin Marie, that hee was a great prophet, and shalbe the judge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke; having felt the Turkish forces when hee wonne from them Azov and Caffa, with some other townes about the Euxine or Blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Chrim Tartar. So that now the emperour of the Chrims for the most part is chosen some one of the nobilitie whom the Turke doeth commend; whereby it is brought nowe to that passe, that the Chrim Tartar giveth to the Turke the tenth part of the spoyle which hee getteth in his warres against the Christians.

Herein they differ from the Turkish religion, for that they have certeine idole puppets, made of silke or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to be as Janusses or keepers of their house. And these idols are made not by all, but by certeine religious women, which they have among them for that and like uses. They have besides the image of their king or great

Cham, of an huge bignes, which they erect at every stage when the army marcheth; and this every one must bend and bowe unto as hee passeth by it, bee he Tartar or stranger. They are much given to witchcraft, and ominous conjectures upon every accident which they heare or see.

In making of mariages, they have no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Onely with his mother, sister, and daughter a man may not marrie; and though hee take the woman into his house and accompany with her, yet hee accounteth her not for his wife till he have a childe by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowrie of her friendes, of horse, sheepe, kyne, &c. If she be barren after a certeine time, he turneth her home againe.

Under the emperour they have certeine dukes, whome they call *morseis* or *divoymorseis*, that rule over a certeine number of 10,000, 20,000 or 40,000 a piece, which they call hoords. When the emperour hath any use of them to serve in his warres, they are bound to come and to bring with them their souldiers to a certeine nomber, every man with his two horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to have his horse eate. For their chiefe vittaile is horse flesh, which they eate without bread or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be taken by a Russe, he shall be sure lightly to finde a horse legge or some other part of him at his saddle bow.

The Tartar nobilitie.

The Tartar dyet.

This last yeere, when I was at the Mosko, came in one Kiriach Morsey, nephewe to the emperour of the Chrims that now is (whose father was emperour before), accompanied with 300 Tartars and his two wives, whereof one was his brothers widdow. Where being intertained in very good sort after the Russe manner, hee had sent unto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fatte horses, ready flawed in a sledde. They preferre it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then beefe, mutton, and such

like. And yet (which is marveile), though they serve all as horsemen in the warres, and eat all of horse flesh, there are brought yeerely to the Mosko, to be exchanged for other commodities, 30 or 40 thousand Tartar horse, which they call *cones*. They keepe also great heards of kine and flockes of blacke sheepe, rather for the skins and milke (which they carry with them in great bottels) then for the use of the flesh, though they sometimes eate of it. Some use they have of ryse, figs, and other fruites. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the most part carde them both together. They use sometimes as they traveile by the way to let their horse blood in a vain, and to drinke it warme as it commeth from his body.

The Tartars dwelling.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but have walking houses, which the Latines call *veij*, built upon wheeles like a shepheards cottage. These they drawe with them whithersoever they goe, driving their cattaile with them. And when they come to their stage or standing place, they plant their cart houses very orderly in a ranke; and so make the forme of streetes and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the emperour himselfe, who hath no other seat of his empire but an *agora* or towne of wood, that moveth with him whithersoever hee goeth. As for the fixed and standing building used in other countreys, they say they are unwholsome and unpleasant.

They beginne to moove their houses and cattaile in the spring time from the south part of their countrey towards the north parts. And so driving on til they have grased all up to the farthest part northwarde, they returne backe againe towardes their south countrey (where they continue all the winter) by ten or twelve miles a stage; in the meane while the grasse being sprung up againe to serve for their cattaile as they returne. From the border of the Shalcan towards the Caspian Sea, to the Russe frontiers, they have a goodly countrey, specially on the south and southeast partes, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they have no use at all, and therefore preferre brasse and steele before other mettals, specially bullate, which they use for swords, knives, and other necessaries. As for golde and silver they neglect it of very purpose (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their countrey lesse subject to invasions. Which giveth them great advantage against all their neighbors, ever invading and never being invaded. Such as have taken upon them to invade their countrey (as of olde time Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis, on the east and southeast side) have done it with very ill successe, as we find in the stories written of those times. For their manner is when any will invade them, to allure and drawe them on by flying and reculing (as if they were afraide) till they have drawen them some good way within their countrey. Then when they beginne to want vittaile and other necessaries (as needs they must where nothing is to bee had), to stoppe up the passages and inclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as we reade in Laonicus Chalcocondylas in his Turkish storie) they had welnigh surprised the great and huge armie of Tamerlan, but that hee retyred with all speede hee coulde towardes the river Tanais or Don, not without great losse of his men and carriages.[1]

In the storie of Pachymerius the Greeke (which he wrote of the emperours of Constantinople, from the beginning of the reigne of Michael Palæologus to the time of Andronicus the elder), I remember hee telleth to the same purpose of one Nogas, a Tartarian captaine, under Cazan the emperour of the East Tartars (of whome the citie and kingdome of Cazan may seeme to have taken the denomination), who refused a present of pearle and other jewels sent unto him from Michael Palæologus: asking withall for what use they served, and whither they were good to keepe away sick-

[1] [Laonici Chalcocondylæ Historiarum libri decem; interprete Conrado Clusero. Paris., fol., 1650, p. 73.]

nesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no.[1] So that it seemeth they have ever or long time bene of that minde to value things no further then by the use and necessitie for which they serve.

For person and complexion they have broad and flatte visages, of a tanned colour into yellowe and blacke, fearse and cruell lookes, thin haired upon the upper lippe and pitte of the chinne, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for horsemen, whereto they practise themselves from their childehood, seldome going afoote about any businesse. Their speach is very suddaine and loude, speaking as it were out of a deepe hollowe throate. When they sing you woulde think a kowe lowed, or some great bandogge howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine up their children from their very infancie, not suffering them to eate til they have shot neere the marke within a certein scantling. They are the very same that sometimes were called *Scythæ Nomades*, or the Scythian shepheards, by the Greekes and Latines. Some thinke that the Turkes tooke their beginning from the nation of the Chrim Tartars. Of which opinion is Laonicus Chalcocondylas the Greek historiographer, in his first booke of his Turkish storie. Wherein hee followeth divers very probable conjectures. The first taken from the very name it selfe, for that the worde Turke signifieth a shepheard, or one that foloweth a vagrant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these Scythian Tartars have ever bene noted, being called by the Greekes, Σκύθαι νόμαδες, or the Scythian shepheards. His second reason, because the Turks (in his time) that dwelt in Asia the Lesse, to wit, in Lydia, Coria [Caria], Phrygia, and Cappadocia, spake the very same language that these Tartars did that dwelt betwixt the river Tanais or Don

[1] [Georgii Pachymeris Michael Palæologus, sive Historia rerum a Michaele Palæologo gestarum ; interprete Petro Possino. Romæ, fol., 1666, p. 237.]

and the countrey of Sarmatia, which (as is well knowen) are these Tartars called Chrims. At this time also the whole nation of the Turkes differ not much in their common speach from the Tartar language. Thirdly, because the Turke and the Chrim Tartar agree so well together, aswell in religion as in matter of traffique, never invading or injurying one another; save that the Turke (since Laonicus his time) hath encroached upon some townes upon the Euxin Sea that before perteined to the Chrim Tartar. Fourthly, because Ortogules, sonne to Oguzalpes (and father to Otoman, the first of name of the Turkish nation), made his first roads out of those partes of Asia upon the next borderers, till he came towardes the countreys about the hill Taurus, where hee overcame the Greekes that inhabited there; and so enlarged the name and territorie of the Turkish nation, til he came to Eubæa and Attica, and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of Laonicus, who lived among the Turks in the time of Amurat, the sixt Turkish emperour, about the yeere 1400,[1] when the memorie of their originall was more freshe, and therefore the likelier hee was to hit the trueth.

There are divers other Tartars that border upon Russia, as the Nagais [Nogais], the Cheremissens, the Mordwites, the Chircasses, and the Shalcans, which all differ in name more then in regiment or other condition from the Chrim Tartar, except the Chircasses, that border southwest towardes Lituania, and are farre more civill then the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person and of a stately behaviour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the Polonian. Some of them have subjected themselves to the kings of Poland, and professe Christianitie. The Nagay [Nogay] lyeth eastwarde, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but verie savage and cruell above all the rest. The Cheremisin Tartar, that lieth betwixt the Russe and the Nagay, are of two sorts, the *Lugavoy* (that is, of the valley), and the *Nagornay*, or of

The Nagay Tartar the cruellest. The Chircasce the civilest Tartar.

The Cheremissen Tartar.

[1] [Laonicus Chalcocondylas died in or about the year 1490.]

the hillie countrey. These have much troubled the emperours of Russia, and therfore they are content now to buy peace of them under pretence of giving a yeerely pension of Russe commodities to their *morseis* or *divoymorseis*, that are chiefe of their tribes. For which also they are bound to serve them in their wars, under certeine conditions. They are saide to be just and true in their dealings, and for that cause they hate the Russe people, whom they account to be double and false in all their dealing. And therfore the common sort are very unwilling to keep agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their *morseis* or dukes for their pensions sake.

The Mordwite Tartar the most barbarous of the rest.

The most rude and barbarous is counted the Mordwit[1] Tartar, that hath many self fashions and strange kinds of behaviour differing from the rest. For his religion, though he acknowlege one god, yet his maner is to worship for god that living thing that he first meeteth in the morning, and to sweare by it al that whole day, whether it be horse, dogge, catte, or whatsoever els it be. When his friend dieth he killeth his best horse, and having flayed off the skin he carrieth it on high upon a long pole before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doeth (as the Russe sayeth) that his friend may have a good horse to carie him to heaven; but it is likelier to declare his love towardes his dead friende, in that hee will have to die with him the best thing that hee hath.

Next to the kingdome of Astracan, that is the farthest part southeastward of the Russe dominion, lyeth the Shalcan and the countrey of Media; whither the Russe marchants trade for raw silks, syndon, saphion, skins, and other commodities. The chiefe townes of Media, where the Russe tradeth, are Derbent (built by Alexander the Great, as the

[1] [The Morduans; a people settled on the borders of the Volga and Oka, in the present governments of Cazan, Simbirsk, Orenburg, Nijni-Novgorod, and Penza.]

inhabitauntes saye) and Zamachie, where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their manner is in the spring time to revive the silke wormes (that lye dead all the winter) by laying them in the warme sunne, and (to hasten their quickening that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang them under their childrens armes. As for the worme called *chrinisin* (as we call it, chrymson), that maketh coloured silke, it is bred not in Media but in Assyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachie for rawe silkes, and other commodities of that countrey, as also into Persia and Bougharia, downe the river Volgha and through the Caspian Sea, is permiteed aswell to the English as to the Russe marchants, by the emperours last graunt at my being there. Which hee accounteth for a very speciall favour, and might proove in deede very beneficiall to our English marchants, if the trade were wel and orderly vsed.

The whole nation of the Tartars are utterly voyde of all learning, and without written lawe. Yet certeine rules they have which they holde by tradition, common to all the hoords for the practise of their life. Which are of this sort. First. To obey their emperour and other magistrates, whatsoever they commaunde about the publique service. 2. Except for the publique behoofe, every man to be free and out of controlement. 3. No private man to possesse any lands, but the whole countrey to be as a common. 4. To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of meates, and to content themselves with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse and readinesse in the executing of their affaires. 5. To weare any base attire and to patch their clothes, whether there bee anie neede or not; that when there is neede, it bee no shame to weare a patcht coate. 6. To take or steale from anie stranger whatsoever they can gette, as beeyng enemies to all men, save to such as will subject themselves to them. 7. Towardes their owne hoorde and nation to be true in word and deede. 8. To suffer no stranger to come

within the realme. If any doe, the same to bee bondslave to him that first taketh him, except such marchants and other as have the Tartar bull, or pastport about them.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Permians, Samoites, and Lappes.

THE Permians and Samoits, that lye from Russia north and northeast, are thought likewise to have taken their beginning from the Tartar kind. And it may partly be gessed by the fashion of their countenance, as having all broade and flat faces as the Tartars have, except the Chirchasses.

The Permans. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subject to the Russe. They live by hunting and trading with their furres, as doth also the Samoyt [Samoiede], that

The Samoites. dwelleth more towardes the North Sea. The Samoyt hath his name (as the Russe saith) of eating himselfe;[1] as if in times past they lived as the Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eat all kind of raw flesh, whatsoever it bee, even the very carion that lieth in the ditch. But as the Samoits themselves wil say, they were called Samoie, that is of themselves, as though they were *indigenæ*, or people bredde upon that very soyle, that never changed their seat from one place to another, as most nations have done. They are subject at this time to the emperour of Russia.

The Samoites religion. I talked with certeine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one god; but represent him by such things as they have most use and good by. And therfore they worship the sun, the ollen, the losh, and such like. As for the storie

[1] [See Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii:* translated for the Hakluyt Society by R. H. Major, 2 vols., Lond., 1852, vol. ii, p. 39.]

of Slata Baba, or the golden hagge (which I have read in some mappes and descriptions of these countries, to bee an idole after the forme of an olde woman), that, being demaunded by the priest, giveth them certeyne oracles concerning the successe and event of thinges, I founde it to bee but a verye fable.[1] Onelie in the province of Obdoria upon the sea side, neare to the mouth of the great river Obba, there is a rocke which naturally (beeing somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman with a child in her armes (as the rock by the North Cape the shape of a frier), where the Obdorian Samoites use much to resort by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing; and there sometime (as their manner is) conceive and practise their sorceries, and ominous conjecturings about the good or bad speed of their journeies, fishings, huntings, and such like. Slata Baba or the golden hag.

They are clad in seale skins, with the hearie side outwards, downe as low as the knees, with their breeches and netherstocks of the same, both men and women. They are all blacke haired, naturally beardlesse. And therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their looks, save that the women weare a lock of haire down along both their eares. They live in a maner a wilde and a savage life, roving stil from one place of the countrey to another, without anie propertie of house or land more to one then to an other. Their leader or directer in every companie is their *papa* or priest. The Samoits habite and behaviour.

On the north side of Russia, next to Corelia, lieth the countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the farthest poynt northward (towardes the Northcape) to the farthest part southeast (which the Russe calleth Sweetnesse [Sviatoi Noss] or Holie Nose, the English men Capegrace) about 345 verst The Lappes.

[1] [See Herberstein, vol. ii, p. 41. In the map of Russia given by Herberstein, the Slata Baba is represented by the figure of a woman holding a spear.]

or miles. From Sweetnesse to Candelox [Kandalaska] by the way of Versega [Varzuga] (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90 miles or there abouts. The whole countrey in a manner is eyther lakes or mountaines, which towardes the sea side are called Tondro, because they are all of hard and craggy rocke; but the inland partes are well furnished with woods, that growe on the hilles sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their diet is very bare and simple. Bread they have none, but feed onely upon fish and fowle. They are subject to the emperour of Russia and the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, which all exact tribute and custome of them (as was said before), but the emperour of Russia beareth the greatest hand over them, and exact of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first termed Lappes of their briefe and short speach. The Russe devideth the whole nation of the Lappes into two sorts. The one they call *Nowremanskoy Lapary*, that is, the Norvegian Lappes, because they be of the Danish religion. For the Danes and Norvegians they account for one people. The other that have no religion at all, but live as brute and heathenish people, without God in the world, they call *Dikoy Lopary*, or the wild Lappes.

The whole nation is utterly unlearned, having not so much as the use of any alphabet or letter among them. For practise of witchcraft and sorcery they passe all nations in the world. Though for the enchaunting of shippes that saile along their coast (as I have heard it reported) and their giving of winds good to their friends and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt, by tying of certein knots upon a rope (somewhat like to the tale of Æolus his windbag) is a very fable, devised (as may seeme) by themselves, to terrifie sailers for comming neare their coast. Their weapons are the long bow and handgunne, wherein they excell, aswell for quicknes to charge and discharge as for nearnesse at the marke, by reason of their continuall practise (wherto they

are forced) of shooting at wild fowle. Their manner is in sommer time to come downe in great companies to the sea side, to Wardhuyse, Cola, Kegor [Kekur], and the bay of Vedagoba,[1] and there to fish for codd, salmon, and but-fish, which they sell to the Russes, Danes, and Norvegians, and now of late to the English men that trade thither with cloth, which they exchaunge with the Lappes and Corelians for their fish, oile, and furres, whereof also they have some store. They hold their mart at Cola on S. Peters day, what time the captain of Wardhuyse (that is resiant there for the king of Denmarke) must be present, or at least send his deputie to set prices upon thier stockfish, traine oyle, furres, and other commodities; as also the Russe emperours customer or tribute taker, to receive his custome, which is ever payed before any thing can be bought or sold. When their fishing is done, their manner is to drawe their carbasses or boates on shoare, and there to leave them with the keele turned upwardes till the next spring tide. Their travaile to and fro is upon sleds, drawen by the Olen deer; which they use to turne a grasing all the sommer time in an iland called Kilden (of a very good soile compared with other partes of that countrie), and towards the winter time, when the snow beginneth to fall, they fetch them home again for the use of their sledde.

CHAP. XXI.

Of their Ecclesiasticall state, with their Church offices.

CONCERNING the governement of their Churche, it is framed altogether after the manner of the Greek; as being a part of that Church, and never acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Latine Church, usurped by the Pope. That I may keepe

[1] [Now Waida Bay.]

a better measure in describing their ceremonies then they in the using them (wherein they are infinite) I will note briefly: first, what ecclesiasticall degrees or offices they have, with the jurisdiction and practise of them. Secondly, what doctrine they holde in matter of religion. Thirdly, what leiturgie or forme of service they use in their churches, with the manner of their administring the sacraments. Fourthly, what other straunge ceremonies and superstitious devotions are used among them.

The Church officers.

Their offices or degrees of churchmen are as many in number, and the same in a manner both in name and degree, that were in the Westerne Churches. First they have their patriarch, then their metropolites, their archbishops, their *vladikey* or bishops, their protopapes or archpriests, their papes or priests, their deacons, friers, monkes, nunnes, and eremites.

The patriarch.

Their patriarch or chiefe directer in matter of religion untill this last yeare was of the citie of Constantinople (whom they called the patriarch of Sio), because being driven by the Turke out of Constantinople (the seate of his empire) he removed to the Ile Sio, sometimes called Chio, and there placed his patriarchiall sea. So that the emperours and clergie of Russia were wont yearely to send gifts thither, and to acknowledge a spirituall kind of homage and subjection due to him and to that Church. Which custome they have held (as it seemeth) ever since they professed the Christian religion. Which how long it hath bene I could not well learne, for that they have no storie or monument of antiquitie (that I could heare of) to shewe what hath bene done in times past within their countrie, concerning either church or common wealth matters.[1] Onely I heare a report

[1] [The Christian religion, according to the form of the Greek Church, was established in Russia by the Grand Duke Vladimir, on occasion of his marriage with Anna, daughter of the Greek Emperor Romanus II, in the year 988.]

among them, that about three hundred yeares since there was a marriage betwixt the emperour of Constantinople and the kings daughter of that countrie; who at the first denied to joyne his daughter in marriage with the Greeke emperour, because he was of the Christian religion. Which agreeth well with that I finde in the storie of Laonicus Chalcacondylas concerning Turkish affaires in his fourth booke: where hee speaketh of such a marriage betwixt John the Greeke emperour and the kings daughter of Sarmatia.[1] And this argueth out of their owne report, that at that time they had not receyved the Christian religion: as also that they were converted to the faith and withall perverted at the very same time, receyving the doctrine of the gospell corrupted with superstitions even at the first when they tooke it from the Greeke Church, which it selfe then was degenerate and corrupted with many superstitions and fowle errours, both in doctrine and discipline; as may appeare by the story of Nicephorus Gregoras, in his 8 and 9 bookes. But as touching the time of their conversion to the Christian faith, I suppose rather that it is mistaken by the Russe; for that which I find in the Polonian storie,[2] the second booke, the third chapter, where is said that, about the yeare 990, Vlodomirus duke of Russia married one Anne, sister to Basilius and Constantinus, brothers and emperours of Constantinople. Whereupon the Russe received the faith and profession of Christ. Which though it be somewhat more auncient then the time noted before out of the Russe report, yet it falleth out al to one reckoning touching this point; vz., in what truth and sinceritie of doctrine the Russe received the first stampe of religion, for asmuch as the Greeke Church at that time also was many waies infected with errour and superstition.

[1] [The marriage of Johannes, son of Manuel II, emperor, with Anna, daughter of Vasiley, Grand Duke of Russia, took place in the year 1414.]

[2] [Martinus Cromerus; lib. iii, cap. 2.]

The translation of the patriarchicall sea from Constantinople or Sio to Mosko.

At my being there, the yere 1588, came unto the Mosko the patriarch of Constantinople, or Sio, called Hieronomo, being banished (as some said) by the Turke, as some other reported by the Greeke clergie deprived.[1] The emperour, being given altogether to superstitious devotions, gave him great intertainment. Before his comming to Mosko he had bene in Italy with the Pope, as was reported ther by some of his company. His arrand was to consult with the emperour concerning these points. First, about a league to passe betwixt him and the king of Spaine, as the meetest prince to joyne with him in opposition against the Turke. To which purpose also ambassages had passed betwixt the Russe and the Persian. Likewise from the Georgians to the emperour of Russia, to joine league together for the invading of the Turke on all sides of his dominion; taking the advantage of the simple qualitie of the Turke that now is. This treatie was helped forward by the emperours ambassadour of Almaine, sent at the same time to solicite an invasion upon the parts of Polonia that lie toward Rusland, and to borrow mony of the Russe emperour, to pursue the warre for his brother Maximilian against the Swedens son, now king of Poland. But this consultation concerning a league betwixt the Russe and the Spaniard (which was in some forwardnes at my comming to Mosko, and already one appointed for ambassage into Spaine) was marred by means of the overthrow given to the Spanish king by her majestie the queene of England this

[1] [Jeremias, Patriarch of Constantinople, had been deposed and banished to Rhodes by the Sultan Amurath III. He was however suffered to return to Constantinople with the rank of Hierarch; but, finding the Patriarchal church converted into a mosque, he obtained leave to collect alms throughout Christendom for erecting a new cathedral. It was on this mission that he arrived at the Russian capital in July 1588. Arsenius, a Greek prelate who accompanied Jeremias, wrote an account of the journey from Poland to Moscow, and of the installation of Job, first Patriarch of Russia, in modern Greek. This was first printed, with a Latin translation, in the *Catalogus Codd. MSS. bibliothecæ regii Taurinensis Athenæi:* 2 tomm. fol. Taurini, 1749; tom. i, p. 433.]

last yeare. Which made the Russe emperour and his counsell to give a sadder countenance to the English ambassadour at that time; for that they were disappointed of so good a pollicie as was this conjunction supposed to bee betwixt them and the Spanish.

His second purpose (whereto the first served as an introduction) was in revenge of the Turke and the Greeke cleargie that had thrust him from his seat, to treate with them about the reducing of the Russe Church under the Pope of Rome. Wherein it may seeme, that comming lately from Rome he was set on by the Pope, who hath attempted the same many times before, though all in vaine; and, namely, in the time of the late emperour Ivan Vasilowich, by one Anthony,[1] his legate; but thought this belike a farre better meane to obteine his purpose, by treatie and mediation of their owne patriarch. But this not succeeding, the patriarch fell to a third point of treatie, concerning the resignation of his patriarchship and translation of the sea from Constantinople, or Sio, to the citie of Mosko. Which was so well liked and intertained by the emperour (as a matter of high religion and pollicie) that no other treatie (specially of forrein ambassages) could be heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The reasons wherewith the patriarch persuaded the translating of his sea to the citie of Mosko were these in effect. First, for that the sea of the patriarch was under the Turk, that is enemie to the faith; and therefore to bee removed into some other countrie of Christian profession. Secondly, because the Russe church was the only naturall daughter of the Greeke at this time, and holdeth the same doctrine and ceremonies with it: the rest being all subject to the Turke,

[1] [Antonio Possevino, the Jesuit, sent by Gregory XIII on a mission to Stephen Bathory, king of Poland, and to the czar, in the year 1581, to effect a pacification between the two countries. He published an account of Russia, with papers relating to his embassy.]

and fallen away from the right profession. Wherein the subtill Greeke, to make the better market of his broken ware, advaunced the honour that would growe to the emperour and his countrie, to have the patriarches seat translated into the chief citie and seat of his empire. As for the right of translating the sea, and appointing his successour, hee made no doubt of it, but that it perteyned wholy to himselfe.

The patriarchship of Constantinople translated to Mosko.

So the emperour and his counsell, with the principall of his cleargie, being assembled at the Mosko, it was determined that the metropolite of Mosko should become patriarch of the whole Greeke Church, and have the same full authoritie and jurisdiction that perteined before to the patriarch of Constantinople or Sio. And that it might bee done with more order and solemnitie, the 25 of January 1588, the Greeke patriarch, accompanied with the Russe cleargie, went to the great church of *Precheste*, or our Ladie, within the emperours castle (having first wandred thorough the whole citie in manner of a procession, and blessing the people with his two fingers), where hee made an oration and delivered his resignation in an instrument of writing, and so laied downe his patriarchicall staffe. Which was presently received by the metropolite of Mosko, and divers other ceremonies used about the inauguration of this new patriarch.

The day was holden very solemne by the people of the citie, who were commaunded to forbeare their workes and to attend this solemnitie. The great patriarch that day was honoured with rich presents sent him from the emperour and empresse, of plate, cloth of gold, furres, etc., carried with great pompe thorough the streats of Mosko, and at his departing received many giftes more, both from the emperour, nobilitie, and cleargie. Thus the patriarchship of Constantinople or Sio (which hath continued since the Counsell of Nice) is now translated to Mosko, or they made beleeve that they have a patriarch with the same right and authoritie that the other had. Wherin the subtil Greeke hath made good

advantage of their superstition, and is now gone away with a rich bootie into Poland, whither their patriarchship be currant or not.

The matter is not unlike to make some schisme betwixt the Greeke and Russe Church, if the Russe holde this patriarchship that he hath so well payed for, and the Greekes elect another withall, as likely they will, whither this man were banished by the Turke or deprived by order of his owne cleargie. Which might happen to give advantage to the Pope, and to bring over the Russe Church to the sea of Rome (to which end peradventure he devised this stratageam, and cast in this matter of schisme among them) but that the emperours of Russia know well enough, by the example of other Christian princes, what inconvenience would grow to their state and countrie by subjecting themselves to the Romish sea. To which ende the late emperour Ivan Vasilowich was very inquisitive of the Popes authority over the princes of christendome, and sent one of very purpose to Rome, to behold the order and behavior of his court.

With this patriarch Hieronimo was driven out at the same time by the great Turke one Demetrio, archbishop of Larissa, who is now in England, and pretendeth the same cause of their banishment by the Turke, (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new kalender for the alteration of the yeare. Which how unlikely it is, may appeare by these circumstances. First, because there is no such affection nor friendlie respect betwixt the Pope and the Turke, as that he should banish a subject for not obeying the Popes ordinance, specially in a matter of some sequele for the alteration of times within his owne countries. Secondly, for that he maketh nó such scruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a just and precise account from the Incarnation of Christ: whom he doth not acknowledge otherwise then I noted before. Thirdly, for that the said patriarch is now at Naples in Italy, where, it may be ghessed, he would not have gone,

within the Popes reach and so neare to his nose, if he had bene banished for opposing himselfe against the Popes decree.

The patriarches jurisdiction.

This office of patriarchship, now translated to Mosko, beareth a superiour authoritie over all the Churches, not onely of Russia and other the emperours dominions, but thorough out all the Churches of christendome that were before under the patriarch of Constantinople or Sio: or at least the Russe patriarch imagineth himselfe to have the same authoritie. Hee hath under him as his proper diocesse the province of Mosko, besides other peculiars. His court or office is kept at the Mosko.

The metropolites.

Before the creation of this new patriarch they had but one metropolite, that was called the metropolite of Mosko. Now, for more state to their Church and newe patriarch, they have two metropolities, the one of Novogrod Velica, the other of Rostove. Their office is to receive of the patriarch such ecclesiasticall orders as he thinketh good, and to deliver the charge of them over to the archbishops: besides the ordering of their owne diocesse.

Archbishops.

Their archbishops are foure: of Smolensko, Cazon, Vobsko [Pskov], and Vologda. The partes of their office is all one with the metropolits: save that they have an under jurisdiction, as suffraganes to the metropolites, and superiours to the bishops. The next are the *vladikeis* or bishops, that are but sixe in all: of Crutitska [Krontitskia], of Rezan, of Otfer [Tver] and Torshock, of Collomenska, of Volodemer, of Susdalla. These have every one a very large diocesse: as dividing the rest of the whole countrie among them.

Bishops.

Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction.

The matters perteyning to the ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of the metropolites, archbishops, and bishops, are the same in a manner that are used by the cleargie in other partes of christendome. For besides their authoritie over the cleargie, and ordering such matters as are meare ecclesiasticall, their jurisdiction extendeth to all testamentarie causes, mat-

ters of marriage, and divorcementes, some pleas of injuries, &c. To which purpose also they have their officials or commissaries (which they call *boiaren vladitskey*), that are laymen of the degree of dukes or gentlemen, that keepe their courtes and execute their jurisdiction. Which, besides their other oppressions over the common people, raigne over the priestes: as the dukes and diacks doo over the poore people within their precints. As for the archbishop or bishop himselfe, he beareth no sway in deciding those causes that are brought into his court. But if hee would moderate any matter, hee must doo it by intreatie with his gentleman officiall. The reason is, because these *boiarskey* or gentlemen officials are not appointed by the bishops, but by the emperour himselfe or his counsell, and are to give account of their doings to none but to them. If the bishoppe can intreat at his admission to have the choice of his owne officiall, it is accounted for a speciall great favour. But to speake it as it is, the cleargie of Russia, aswell concerning their landes and revenues as their authoritie and jurisdiction, are altogether ordered and over ruled by the emperour and his counsell, and have so much and no more of both as their pleasure doth permit them. They have also their assistants or severall counsels (as they call them) of certeine priests that are of their diocesse, residing within their cathedrall cities, to the number of foure and twentie a piece. These advise with them about the speciall and necessarie matters belonging to their charge.

Their gentlemen commissaries.

Concerning their rentes and revenues to mainteyne their dignities, it is somewhat large. The patriarches yearely rents out of his landes (besides other fees) is about 3,000 rubbels or markes. The metropolites and archbishops about 2,500. The bishops, some a 1,000, some 800, some 500, &c. They have had some of them (as I have heard say) ten or twelve thousand rubbels a yeare: as had the metropolite of Novograde.

The Church revenues.

The habite of their clergy men.

Their habite or apparell (when they shewe themselves in their *pontificalibus* after their solemnest manner) is a miter on their heades, after the popish fashion, sette with pearle and pretious stone, a cope on their backes, commonly of cloth of golde, embrodered with pearle, and a crosiers staffe in their handes, layed over all with plate of silver double guilt, with a crosse or sheepheardes crooke at the upper ende of it. Their ordinarie habite otherwise when they ride or goe abroad, is a hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backes and standeth out like a bongrace before. Their upper garment (which they call *reis*) is a gowne or mantell of blacke damaske, with many listes or gardes of white sattin layed upon it, everie garde about two fingers broad, and their crosiers staffe carried before them. Themselves followe after, blessing the people with their two forefingers with a marveilous grace.

The election of bishops.

The election and appointing of the bishops and the rest, perteyneth wholy to the emperour himselfe. They are chosen ever out of the monasteries: so that there is no bishop, archbishop, nor metropolite, but hath bene a monke or frier before. And by that reason they are and must all bee unmaried men, for their vow of chastitie when they were first shorne. When the emperour hath appointed whom hee thinketh good, he is invested in the cathedrall church of his dioces with many ceremonies, much after the manner of the popish inauguration. They have also their deanes and their archdeacons.

The learning and exercise of the Russe clergie.

As for preaching the worde of God, or any teaching or exhorting such as are under them, they neyther use it nor have any skill of it: the whole cleargie beyng utterlie unlearned, bothe for other knowledge and in the word of God. Onely their manner is twise every yeere, vz., the first of September (which is the first day of their yere) and on S. John Baptists day, to make an ordinarie speach to the people, every metropolite, archbishop, and bishop, in his

cathedrall church, to this or like effect:—That if anie be in malice towardes his neighbour, hee shall leave off his malice: if any have thought of treason or rebellion against his prince, he beware of such practise: if he have not kept his fasts and vowes, nor done his other dueties to the holie Church, he shal amend that fault, &c. And this is a matter of forme with them, uttered in as many words and no more, in a manner, then I have heere set downe. Yet the matter is done with that grace and solemnitie, in a pulpit of purpose set up for this one acte, as if he were to discourse at large of the whole substance of divinitie. At the Mosko, the emperour himselfe is ever present at this sölemne exhortation.

As themselves are voyde of all manner of learning, so are they warie to keepe out all meanes that might bring any in: as fearing to have their ignorance and ungodlinesse discovered. To that purpose they have perswaded the emperours, that it would breed innovation, and so danger to their state, to have anie noveltie of learning come within the realme. Wherein they say but trueth, for that a man of spirit and understanding, helped by learning and liberal education, can hardly indure a tyrannicall government. Some yeres past, in the other emperors time, there came a presse and letters out of Polonia to the citie of Mosko, where a printing house was set up with great liking and allowance of the emperour himselfe.[1] But not long after the house was set on fire in the night time, and the presse and letters quite burnt up, as was thought by the procurement of the cleargy men.

Their priestes (whom they call *papaes*) are made by the bishops, without any great triall for worthinesse of giftes Priests.

[1] [Karamsin says that, in the year 1547, Ivan Vasilovitsch procured printers from Germany, and in 1553 erected a press in Moscow, which he placed under the direction of Fedoroff, deacon of St. Nicholas, and Peter Mstivslavetz, who, in the year 1564, published the Acts of the Apostles with the Epistles. Vol. ix, p. 57.]

before they admit them, or ceremonies in their admission: save that their heades are shorne (not shaven, for that they like not) about an hand bredth or more in the crowne, and that place annoynted with oyle by the bishop: who in his admission putteth upon the priest, first, his surplesse, and then setteth a white crosse on his brest of silke or some other matter, which he is to weare eight dayes and no more: and so giveth him authoritie to say and sing in the church, and to administer the sacraments.

They are men utterly unlearned, which is no marveile, forasmuch as their makers, the bishops themselves (as before was saide) are cleere of that qualitie, and make no farther use at al of any kind of learning, no not of the scriptures themselves, save to reade and to sing them. Their ordinary charge and function is to say the leiturgie, to administer the sacraments after their maner, to keepe and deck their idoles, and to doe the other ceremonies usuall in their churches. Their number is great, because their townes are parted into many smal parishes, without any descretion for deviding them into competent numbers of housholds and people for a just congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected for increasing of knowledge and instruction towardes God. Which cannot well be had, where, by means of an unequall partition of the people and parishes, there followeth a want and unequalitie of stipend for a sufficient ministerie.

The Russe priests can marry but once.

For their priests, it is lawful to marrie for the first time. But if the first wife dye, a second hee cannot take, but hee must loose his priesthood and his living withall. The reason, they make out of that place of Saint Paul to Timothie, 1. iii. 2, not well understood, thinking that to bee spoken of divers wives successively, that the apostle speaketh of at one and the same time. If he will needs marrie againe after his first wife is dead, hee is no longer called *papa*, but *rospapa*, or priest *quondam*. This maketh the priestes to make much

of their wives, who are accounted as the matrones, and of best reputation among the women of the parish.

For the stipend of the priest, their manner is not to pay him any tenthes of corne, or ought els: but he must stand at the devotion of the people of his parish, and make up the incommes towards his maintenance, so wel as he can, by offerings, shriftes, marriages, burials, dirges, and prayers for the dead and the living (which they call *molitva*). For besides their publike service within their churches, their manner is for every private man to have a prayer saide for him by the priest, upon any occasion of businesse whatsoever, whether he ride, goe, saile, plough, or whatsoever els he doeth. Which is not framed according to the occasion of his businesse, but at randome, being some of their ordinarie and usuall Church-prayers. And this is thought to be more holy and effectuall, if it be repeated by the priests mouth, rather then by his owne. They have a custome besides to solemnize the saints day that is patrone to their church once every yeere. What time al their neighbours of their countrey and parishes about, come in to have prayers saide to that saint for themselves and their friendes: and so make an offering to the priest for his paines. This offering may yeeld them some ten poundes a yeere, more or lesse, as the patrone or saint of that church is of credite and estimation among them. The manner is on this day (which they keep anniversarie) for the priest to hire divers of his neighbour priestes to helpe him: as having more dishes to dresse for the saint then he can wel turne his hand unto. They use besides to visite their parishioners houses with holy water and perfume commonly once a quarter: and so having sprinckled and besensed the goodman and his wife, with the rest of their houshold and houshold stuffe, they receive some devotion, more or lesse as the man is of abilitie. This and the rest laid altogether, may make up for the priest towardes his

The priests maintenance.

maintenaunce about thirtie or fourtie rubbels a yere, wherof he payeth the tenth part to the bishop of the dioces.

The priests attire. The *papa* or priest is knowen by his long tufts of haire hanging downe by his eares, his gowne with a broad cape, and a walking staffe in his hand. For the rest of his habite, he is apparelled like the common sort. When he saith the leiturgie or service within the church, he hath on him his surplesse, and sometimes his coape, if the day be more solemne. They have, besides their *papaes* or priestes, their *churnapapaes* (as they call them), that is, blacke priestes: that may keepe their benefices, though they bee admitted friers withall within some monasterie. They seeme to bee the verie same that were called Regular priestes in the Popish Church. Under the priest is a deacon in every church, that doeth nothing but the office of a parish clearke. As for their *protopapas* or archepriestes, and their archdeacons (that are next in election to be their *protopapas*), they serve only in the cathedral churches.

Friers. Of friers they have an infinit rabble, farre greater then in any other countrey where Popery is professed. Every city and good part of the countrey swarmeth ful of them. For they have wrought (as the Popish friers did by their superstition and hypocrisie) that if any part of the realme bee better and sweeter then other, there standeth a friery or a monastery dedicated to some saint.

The number of them is so much the greater, not onely for that it is augmented by the superstition of the countrey, but because the fryers life is the safest from the oppressions and exactions that fall upon the commons. Which causeth many to put on the fryers weede, as the best armour to beare off such blowes. Besides such as are voluntarie, there are divers that are forced to shire themselves fryers upon some displeasure. These are for the most part of the chiefe nobility. Divers take the monasteries as a place of sanctuary, and there become friers, to avoyde some punishment that they

had deserved by the lawes of the realme. For if hee gette a monastery over his head, and there put on a coole [cowl] before hee be attached, it is a protection to him for ever against any law, for what crime soever: except it be for treason. But this proviso goeth withall, that no man commeth there (except such as are commanded by the emperour to be received) but hee giveth them lands, or bringeth his stock with him and putteth it into the common treasurie. Some bring a 1000 rubbels, and some more. None is admitted under 3 or 4 hundred.

Their manner of shiring friers.

The manner of their admission is after this sort. First, the abbot strippeth him of all his secular or ordinarie apparell. Then hee putteth upon him, next to his skinne, a white flannel shirt, with a long garment over it down to the ground, girded unto him with a broade leather belt. His uppermost garment is a weede of garras or say, for colour and fashion much like to the upper weed of a chimney-sweeper. Then is his crown shorne a hand breadth or more close to the very skinne, and these or like words pronounced by the abbot, whiles hee clippeth his haire:—"As these haires are clipped of and taken from thy head, so now we take thee and separate thee cleane from the worlde, and worldly thinges," &c. This done, hee annoynteth his crowne with oyle, and putteth on his coole: and so taketh him in among the fraternitie. They vowe perpetuall chastitie, and abstinence from flesh.

Besides their landes (that are verie great), they are the greatest marchants in the whole countrey, and deale for all manner of commodities. Some of their monasteries dispend in landes one thousande or two thousande rubbels a yeere. There is one abbey, called Troits, that hath in lands and fees the summe of 100,000 rubbels or marks a yeere. It is built in maner of a castle, walled rounde about, with great ordinance planted on the wall, and conteineth within it a large bredth of grounde and great varietie of building.

There are of friers within it (besides their officers and other servants) about 700. The empresse that now is[1] hath many vowes to Saint Sergius, that is patrone there, to intreat him to make her fruitful, as having no children by the emperour her husband. Lightly every yeere she goeth on pilgrimage to him from the Mosko on foote, about 80 English miles,[2] with five or sixe thousand women attending upon her, all in blewe liveries, and foure thousand souldiers for her garde. But Saint Sergius hath not yet heard her prayers, though (they say) he hath a speciall gift and facultie that way.

The friers learning.

What learning there is among their fryers may be knowen by their bishops, that are the choyce men out of all their monasteries. I talked with one of them at the citie of Vologda, where (to trie his skill) I offered him a Russe Testament, and turned him to the first chapter of Saint Mathewes Gospel. Where he beganne to reade in verie good order. I asked him first, what part of scripture it was that he had read? Hee answered, that hee coulde not well tell. Howe manie Evangelistes there were in the newe Testament? He sayde he knew not. Howe manie Apostles there were? Hee thought there were twelve. Howe he shoulde be saved? Whereunto he answeared mee with a piece of Russe doctrine, that hee knew not whether he shoulde bee saved or no: but if God woulde *poshallovate* him, or gratifie him so much as to save him, so it was, hee would be glad of it: if not, what remedie? I asked him why he shoare himselfe a fryer? He answered, because he would eat his bread

[1] [Irenia, sister of Boris Godunoff. She gave birth to her first child in 1592, having been several times previously *enceinte*. In the year 1585 Horsey was despatched to England from Moscow, by the Czar Fedor, to procure a midwife for the Czarina; and, on his return, he brought with him a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Irenia on the subject of the midwife and a physician, whom she had also sent to her assistance. See Hamel, p. 234.]

[2] [About half this number of miles is the true distance.]

with peace. This is the learning of the friers of Russia, which, though it be not to bee measured by one, yet partly it may bee gessed, by the ignorance of this man, what is in the rest.

They have also many nunneries, whereof some may admitte none but noblemens widowes and daughters, when the emperour meaneth to keepe them, unmarried, from continuing the blood or stocke which he would have extinguished. To speak of the life of their friers and nunnes, it needes not to those that know the hypocrisie and uncleannesse of that cloyster-broode. The Russe himselfe (though otherwise addicted to all superstition) speaketh so fowlly of it, that it must needes gaine silence of any modest man. Nunneries.

Besides these, they have certeyne eremites (whome they call holy men) that are like to those gymnosophists for their life and behaviour: though farre unlike for their knowledge and learning. They use to go starke naked, save a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long and wildely about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron coller or chaine about their neckes or middes, even in the very extremity of winter. These they take as prophets and men of great holines, giving them a liberty to speak what they list without any controulment, thogh it be of the very highest himselfe. So that if he reprove any openly, in what sort soever, they answere nothing, but that it is *po græcum*, that is, for their sinnes. And if anie of them take some piece of sale ware from anie mans shop, as he passeth by, to give where he list, hee thinketh himselfe much beloved of God, and much beholding to the holy man for taking it in that sort. Eremites.

Of this kinde there are not many, because it is a very harde and colde profession to goe naked in Russia, specially in winter. Among other at this time they have one at Mosko that walketh naked about the streetes, and inveyeth commonly against the state and government, especially

against the Godonoes, that are thought at this time to bee great oppressours of that common wealth. Another there was, that dyed not many yeeres agoe (whome they called Basileo the Eremite. Basileo), that would take upon him to reproove the olde emperour, for all his crueltie and oppressions done towards his people. His body they have translated of late into a sumptuous church neere the emperours house in Mosko, and have canonized him for a saint. Many miracles he doth there (for so the friers make the people to beleeve), and manie offrings are made unto him, not only by the people but by the chiefe nobilitie, and the emperour and empresse themselves, which visite that church with great devotion. But this last yeere, at my beeing at Mosko, this saint had ill lucke in working his miracles. For a lame man that had his limmes restored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (being then fallen out) that hee halted but in the day time, and coulde leape merily when he came home at night. And that hee had intended this matter sixe yeeres before. Nowe he is put into a monastery, and there rayleth upon the fryers that hyred him to have this counterfaite miracle practised upon him. Besides this disgrace, a litle before my comming from thence, there were eyght slaine within his church by fire in a thunder. Which caused his belles (that were tingling before all day and night long as in triumph of the miracles wrought by Basileo, their saint) to ring somewhat softlier, and hath wrought no little discredite to this miracle-worker. There Nicôla the Eremite. was another of great account at Plesko (called Nichôla of Plesko),[1] that did much good when this emperours father came to sacke the towne, upon suspition of their revolting and rebellion against him. The emperour, after hee had saluted the eremite at his lodging, sent him a reward. And

[1] [See an account of this fanatic in the earlier part of the narrative of Horsey; who names him "Mikula Sweat," and gives his personal recollections of him.]

the holy man, to requite the emperour, sent him a piece of rawe fleshe, beyng then their Lent time. Which the emperour seeing, bid one to tell him that he marvelled that the holy man woulde offer him flesh to eat in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holie Church. And doth *Evasko* (which is as much to saye, as Jacke) thinke (quoth Nicôla) that it is unlawfull to eate a piece of beasts flesh in Lent, and not to eate up so much mans flesh as hee hath done already? So, threatning the emperour with a prophecy of some hard adventure to come upon him, except hee left murdering of his people and departed the towne, he saved a great many mens lives at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, because they are as Pasquils, to note their great mens faults that no man els dare speake of. Yet it falleth out sometime, that for this rude libertie which they take upon them, after a counterfeite manner, by imitation of prophets, they are made away in secret: as was one or two of them in the last emperours time, for beyng over bold in speaking against his government.

CHAP. XXII.

Of their Leiturgie, or forme of Church-service, and their manner of administring the Sacraments.

THEIR morning service they call *zautrana*, that is, matins. It is done in this order. The priest entereth into the church with his deacon following him. And when hee is come to the middle of the church, he beginneth to say with a lowde voyce: "*Blasslavey Vladika*" (that is) "Blesse us, heavenly Pastor:" meaning of Christ. Then he addeth:—"In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, one

Their morning service.

very God in Trinitie:" and "*Aspody Pomeluy*," or, "Lorde have mercy upon us, Lorde have mercie upon us, Lorde have mercie upon us:" repeated three times. This done, hee marcheth on towardes the chauncell or *sanctum sanctorum* (as they use to call it), and so entreth into the *scharsvey dwere*, or the heavenly doore: which no man may enter into but the priest only. Where, standing at the altar or table (set neere to the upper wall of the chauncell), hee sayeth the Lordes Prayer, and then againe "*Aspode Pomeluy*," or, "Lord have mercie upon us, Lorde have mercie upon us," &c., pronounced twelve times. Then, "Praised be the Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghost, for ever and ever." Wherto the deacons and people say, "Amen." Next after, the priest addeth the Psalmes for that day, and beginneth with, "O come let us worshippe and fall downe before the Lord," &c.: and therewithall himselfe, with the deacons and people, all turne themselves towardes their idoles or images that hang on the wall, and, crossing themselves, bowe down three times, knocking their heades to the verie ground. After this he readeth the ten Commandments and Athanasius Creed out of the service-booke.

This being done, the deacon that standeth without the heavenly doore or chauncel readeth a piece of a legend out of a written booke (for they have it not in print) of some saints life, miracles, &c. This is divided into many partes, for every day in the yeere, and is read by them with a playne singing note, not unlike to the Popish tune when they soung their gospels. After all this (which reacheth to an houre and an halfe or two houres of length) hee addeth certeyne sette collectes or prayers upon that which hee hath read out of the legend before: and so endeth his service. All this while stand burning before their idoles a great many of waxes candles (wherof some are of the bignesse of a mans wast), vowed or enjoyned by penance upon the people of the parish.

About 9 of the clock in the morning they have an other service, called *obeidna*, or compline, much after the order of the Popish service that bare that name. If it bee some high or festivall day, they furnish their service beside with, "Blessed bee the Lorde God of Israel," &c., and, "We prayse thee O God," &c., sung with a more solemne and curious note.

Their evening service is called *vecherna*, where the priest beginneth with *Blaslavey Vladika*, as hee did in the morning, and with the psalms appointed for the *vecherna*. Which beyng read, hee singeth, "My soule doeth magnifie the Lorde," &c. And then the priest, deacons, and people, all with one voice sing, "*Aspody Pomelui*," or, "Lord have mercy upon us," thirty times together. Whereunto the boyes that are in the church answere all with one voyce, rowling it up so fast as their lippes can goe:—"*Verij, verij, verij, verij*," or, "Prayse, prayse, prayse," &c., thirty times together, with a very straunge noyse. Then is read by the priest, and upon the holidaies sung, the first psalme:—"Blessed is the man," &c. And in the end of it is added, "Alleluia," repeated ten times. The next in order is some part of the gospell read by the priest, which hee endeth with "Alleluia" repeated three times. And so having said a collect in remembrance of the saint of that day, he endeth his evening service. All this while the priest standeth above, at the altar or high table, within the chancel or *sanctum sanctorum*, whence he never moveth al the service time. The deacon or deacons (which are many in their cathedrall churches) stand without the chancell by the *sharsvey dwere*, or heavenly doore: for within they may not be seene all the service time, though otherwise their office is to sweepe and keepe it, and to set up the waxe candels before their idols. The people stand together the whole service time in the body of the church, and some in the church porch; for piew or seate they have none within their churches.

Their Evening service.

The sacrament of baptisme they administer after this

The manner of the Russe baptisme.

manner. The child is brought unto the church (and this is done within eight daies after it is borne); if it bee the childe of some nobleman, it is brought with great pomp in a rich sled or wagon, with chaires and cushions of cloth of gold, and such like sumptuous shew of their best furniture. When they are come to the church, the priest standeth readie to receive the child within the church porch, with his tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare unto them, that they have brought a little infidell to be made a Christian, &c. This ended, he teacheth the witnesses (that are two or three) in a certeine set forme out of his booke, what their dutie is in bringing up the childe after hee is baptised: vz., that he must be taught to know God, and Christ the Saviour. And because God is of great majestie, and wee must not presume to come unto him without mediatours (as the manner is when wee make any suit to an emperour or great prince), therefore they must teach him what saints are the best and chiefe mediatours, &c. This done, he commandeth the divell in the name of God, after a conjuring manner, to come out of the water: and so, after certeine praiers, he plungeth the childe thrise over head and eares. For this they holde to be a point necessary, that no part of the childe be undipped in the water.

The words, that beare with them the forme of baptisme, uttered by the priest when he dippeth in the childe, are the very same that are prescribed in the gospell and used by us, vz.: "In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Ghost." For that they should altar the forme of the words, and say, "by the holy Ghost" (as I have heard that they did, folowing certein heretikes of the Greeke Church), I found to be untrue, aswell by report of them that have bin often at their baptismes, as by their booke of leiturgie it selfe, wherein the order of baptisme is precisely set downe.

When the childe is baptized, the priest laieth oile and salt tempred together upon the forehead and both sides of his

face, and then uppon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger over the childes lippes (as did the Popish priestes) saying withall certeine prayers to this effect: that God will make him a good Christian, &c.: all this is done in the church porch. Then is the childe (as being now made a Christian, and meet to be received within the church dore) carried into the church, the priest going before, and there he is presented to the chiefe idoll of the church, being layd on a cushion before the feete of the image, by it (as by the mediatour) to bee commended unto God. If the child be sick or weake (specially in the winter), they use to make the water luke warme. After baptisme, the manner is to cut of the haire from the childes head, and having wrapped it within a piece of wax, to lay it up as a relique or monument in a secret place of the church.

This is the manner of their baptisme, which they account to be the best and perfectest form. As they doo all other parts of their religion, received (as they say) by tradition from the best Church, meaning the Greeke. And therfore they will take great paynes to make a proselite or convert, either of an infidell or of a forrein Christian, by rebaptizing him after the Russe manner. When they take any Tartar prisoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptized. And yet they perswade very few of them to redeeme their life so: because of the naturall hatred the Tartar beareth to the Russe, and the opinion he hath of his falshood and injustice. The yere after Mosko was fired by the Chrim Tartar, there was taken a *Divoymorsey*, one of the chiefe in that exploit, with 300 Tartars more: who had all their lives offered them, if they would be baptized after the Russe manner. Which they refused all to doo, with many reproches against those that perswaded them. And so beyng carried to the river Mosko (that runneth through the citie) they were all baptized after a violent manner, being thrust downe with a knock on the head into the water,

Rebaptizing.

through an hole made in the yse for that purpose. Of Liefflanders that are captives, there are many that take on them this second Russe baptisme, to get more libertie, and somwhat besides towards their living, which the emperour ordinarily useth to give them.

Of Englishmen, since they frequented the countrie, there was never any found that so much forgot God, his faith, and countrie, as that he would bee content to bee baptized Russe, for any respect of feare, preferment, or other meanes whatsoever: save onely Richard Relph,[1] that following before an ungodly trade, by keeping a *caback* (against the order of the countrie), and being put of from that trade and spoiled by the emperours officers of that which he had, entred himself this last yeare into the Russe profession: and so was rebaptised, living now asmuch an idolater as before he was a rioter and unthrifty person.

Such as thus receive the Russe baptisme, are first carried into some monasterie to be instructed there in the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they use these ceremonies. First, they put him into a new and fresh suite of apparell, made after the Russe fashion, and set a coronet, or (in sommer) a garland, upon his head. Then they annoint his head with oile, and put a waxe candle light into his hand: and so pray over him foure times a day, the space of seven daies. All this while he is to abstaine from flesh and white meats. The seven daies being ended, he is purified and washed in a bathstove, and so the eighth day hee is brought into the church, where he is taught by the friers how to behave himselfe in presence of their idols, by ducking downe,

[1] [Richard Relph had been sent out to Russia by the Muscovy Company. "For his private tradinge with the companies stocke and creditt, his prodigalities and deceiptes," he was recalled in the year 1584; but either refused obedience to the order or returned soon after. See a copy of a curious letter written by him to two of his partners in fraud against the Company, dated Rose Island, 12th August, 1584, in Lansdowne MS. 42, f. 67.]

knocking of the head, crossing himself, and such like gestures, which are the greatest part of the Russe religion.

The sacrament of the Lordes Supper they receive but once a yeare, in their great Lent time, a litle before Easter. Three, at the most, are admitted at one time, and never above. The manner of their communicating is thus. First, they confesse themselves of all their sins to the priest (whom they call their ghostly father). Then they come to the church, and are called up to the communion table, that standeth, like an altar, a little removed from the upper end of the church, after the Doutch maner. Here, first, they are asked of the priest whether they be cleane or no, that is, whither they have never a sinne behind, that they left unconfessed. If they answere, No, they are taken to the table. Where the priest beginneth with certeine usuall prayers, the communicants standing in the meane while, with their armes foulded one within an other, like penitentaries or mourners. When these prayers are ended, the priest taketh a spoone, and filleth it full of claret wine. Then he putteth into it a small piece of bread, and tempereth them both together: and so delivereth them in the spoone to the communicants, that stande in order, speaking the usuall wordes of the sacrament,—" Eat this," &c., " Drink this," &c.,—both at one time, without any pause. The administring of the Lords Supper.

After that, he delivereth them againe bread by it self, and then wine carded together with a little warme water, to represent bloud more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall that flowed out of the side of Christ. Whiles this is in doing, the communicants unfold their armes. And then foulding them againe, follow the prieste thrise round about the communion table, and so returne to their places againe. Where, having said certeine other prayers, he dismisseth the communicants, with charge to bee meary, and to cheere up themselves for the seven daies next following. Which being ended, he enjoyneth them to fast for it as long time

after. Which they use to observe with very great devotion, eating nothing els but bread and salt, except a little cabbage, and some other hearbe or roote, with water or quasse mead for their drinke.

This is their manner of administering the sacraments. Wherein, what they differ from the institution of Christ, and what ceremonies they have added of their owne, or, rather, borrowed of the Greekes, may easily be noted.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Doctrine of the Russe Church, and what errours it holdeth.

The Russe errours. 1. Their disallowing of certeine parts of the Canonicall scriptures.

THEIR chiefest errours in matter of faith I find to be these. First, concerning the word of God it self, they will not read publiquely certeine bookes of the canonicall scripture, as the bookes of Moses: specially the foure last, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, and Deuteronomie, which they say are al made disauthentique, and put out of use by the comming of Christ: as not able to discerne the difference betwixt the morall and the ceremoniall law. The bookes of the prophets they allow of, but read them not publikely in their churches for the same reason: because they were but directers unto Christ, and proper (as they say) to the nation of the Jewes. Onely the booke of Psalmes they have in great estimation, and sing and say them dayly in their churches. Of the New Testament they allow and read all, except the Revelation: which therefore they read not (though they allow it) because they understand it not, neither have the like occasion to know the fulfilling of the prophecies conteyned within it, concerning especially the apostasie of the Antichristian

Church, as have the Westerne Churches. Notwithstanding they have had their Antichrists of the Greeke Church, and may finde their owne falling of and the punishments for it, by the Turkish invasion, in the prophecies of that booke.

Secondly (which is the fountain of the rest of al their corruptions, both in doctrine and ceremonies) they holde with the Papistes, that their Church traditions are of equall authoritie with the written worde of God. Wherein they prefer themselves before other Churches: affirming that they have the true and right traditions delivered by the apostles to the Greeke Church, and so unto them. 2. Traditions equall to the holy scripture.

3. That the Church (meaning the Greeke, and specially the Patriarch and his Synod, as the head of the rest) have a soveraigne authoritie to interpret the scriptures, and that all are bound to holde that interpretation as sound and authentique. 3. The Church to have soveraigne authoritie in interpreting the scriptures.

4. Concerning the divine nature and the three persons in the one substance of God, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne. 4. The Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father onely.

5. About the office of Christ they holde many fowle errours, and the same almost as doth the Popish Church: namely, that hee is the sole mediatour of redemption, but not of intercession. Their chiefe reason (if they bee talked withall) for defence of this errour, is that unapt and foolish comparison betwixt God and a monarch or prince of this world, that must bee sued unto by mediatours about him: wherein they give speciall preferment to some above others, as to the blessed Virgin, whom they call *precheste*, or undefiled, and S. Nicôlas, whom they call *scora pomosnick*, or the speedy helper, and say that hee hath 300 angels of the chiefest, appointed by God to attend upon him. This hath brought them to an horrible excesse of idolatry, after the grossest and prophanest manner, giving unto their images al religious worship of praier, thanksgiving, offerings, and 5. Christ not sole mediator of intercession.

adoration, with prostrating and knocking their heads to the ground before them, as to God himself. Which, because they doo to the picture, not to the portraiture of the saint, they say they worship not an idol but the saint in his image, and so offend not God: forgetting the commandement of God, that forbiddeth to make the image or likenes of any thing, for any religious worship or use whatsoever. Their church walles are very full of them, richly hanged and set forth with pearle and stone upon the smooth table. Though some also they have embossed, that stick from the board almost an inch outwards. They call them *chudovodites*, or their miracle workers: and when they provide them to set up in their churches, in no case they may say that they have bought the image, but exchaunged monie for it.

6. Justification by workes.

6. For the means of justification, they agree with the Papists, that it is not by faith only apprehending Christ, but by their works also. And that *opus operatum*, or the worke for the worke sake, must needes please God. And therefore they are all in their numbers of praiers, fastes, vowes, and offrings to saints, almes deeds, crossings, and such like, and carrie their numbring beads about with them continually, aswel the emperour and his nobilitie as the common people, not only in the church but in all other publike places, specially at any set or solemne meeting, as in their fastes, lawe courts, common consultations, intertainement of ambassadours, and such like.

7 Salvation uncerteine.

7. They say, with the Papists, that no man can be assured of his salvation, til the last sentence be passed at the day of judgement.

8. Auricular confession.

8. They use auricular confession, and thinke that they are purged by the very action from so many sinnes as they confesse by name, and in particular to the priest.

9. Three sacraments.

9. They hold three sacramentes, of baptisme, the Lords supper, and the last annoiling, or unction. Yet concerning their sacrament of extreame unction, they holde it not so

necessarie to salvation as they do baptisme, but thinke it a great curse and punishment of God if any die with out it.

10. They thinke there is a necessitie of baptisme, and that all are condemned that die with out it. 10. All damned that die without baptisme.

11. They rebaptise as many Christians (not being of the Greek Church) as they convert to their Russe profession: because they are divided from the true Church, which is the Greeke, as they say. 11. Anabaptisme.

12. They make a difference of meates and drinks, accounting the use of one to be more holy then of an other. And therefore in their set fastes they forbeare to eate fleshe and white meats (as we call them) after the manner of the Popish superstition: which they observe so strictly, and with such blinde devotion, as that they will rather die then eat one bit of flesh, egges, or such like, for the health of their bodies in their extreme sicknesse. 12. Difference of meates.

13. They hold marriage to be unlawfull for all the clergie men, except the priests only, and for them also after the first wife, as was said before. Neither doo they well allow of it in lay men after the second marriage. Which is a pretence now used against the emperours only brother, a child of six yeres old:[1] who therefore is not praied for in their churches (as their manner is otherwise for the princes bloud) because hee was borne of the sixt marriage, and so not legitimate. This charge was given to the priests by the emperour himselfe, by procurement of the Godonoes, who make him beleeve that it is a good pollicie to turne away the liking of the people from the next successour. 13. Marriage for some persons unlawfull.

Many other false opinions they have in matter of religion. But these are the chiefe, which they holde partly by meanes of their traditions (which they have received from the Greeke Church), but specially by ignorance of the holy scriptures. Which notwithstanding they have in the Polonian tongue

[1] [Prince Demetrius, youngest son of the Czar Ivan Vasilovitch. See a note concerning him, above, p, 22.]

(that is all one with theirs, some few wordes excepted), yet fewe of them read them with that godly care which they ought to doo: neither have they (if they would) bookes sufficient of the Old and New Testament for the common people, but of their leiturgie onely, or booke of common service, whereof there are great numbers.

All this mischief commeth from the clergie, who being ignorant and godlesse themselves, are very warie to keepe the people likewise in their ignorance and blindnesse, for their living and bellies sake: partly also from the manner of government setled among them: which the emperours (whom it specially behoveth) list not to have chaunged by any innovation, but to retaine that religion that best agreeth with it. Which notwithstanding it is not to be doubted, but that having the word of God in some sort (though without the ordinarie meanes to attaine to a true sense and understanding of it) God hath also his number among them. As may partly appeare by that which a Russe at Mosko said in secret to one of my servants, speaking against their images and other superstitions:—That God had given unto England light to day, and might give it to morrow (if he pleased) to them.

As for any inquisition or proceeding against men for matter of religion, I could heare of none: save a few yeares since against one man and his wife, who were kept in a close prison the space of 28 yeares, till they were over growen into a deformed fashion, for their hayre, nailes, collour of countenance, and such like, and in the end were burned at Mosko, in a small house set on fire. The cause was kepte secrete, but like it was for some part of truth in matter of religion: though the people were made to beleeve by the priests and friers, that they held some great and damnable heresie.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the manner of solemnizing their Marriages.

THE manner of making and solemnizing their marriages is different from the maner of other countries. The man (though he never saw the woman before) is not permitted to have any sight of hir al the time of his woing: which he doth not by himself, but by his mother or some other ancient woman of his kin or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (aswell by the parents as by the parties themselves, for without the knowledge and consent of the parents, the contract is not lawful) the fathers on both sides, or such as are to them in steede of fathers, with their other chiefe friends, have a meeting and conference about the dowrie, which is commonly very large, after the abilitie of the parents: so that you shal have a market man (as they call them) give a 1000 rubbels or more with his daughter.

The manner of indowment for wives.

As for the man, it is never required of him, nor standeth with their custome, to make any jointer in recompence of the dowrie. But in case he have a child by his wife, she enjoieth a thirde deale after his disease. If hee have two children by hir or more, shee is to have a courtesie more, at the discretion of the husband. If the husband depart without issue by his wife, shee is returned home to hir friends without any thing at al, save only hir dowrie: if the husband leave so much behind him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the dowrie, they signe bonds one to the other, aswell for the paiment of the dowrie, as the performing of the mariage by a certein day. If the woman were never married before, hir father and friends are bound besides to assure hir a maiden. Which breedeth many brabbels and quarrels at law, if the man take any conceipt concerning the behaviour and honestie of his wife.

Thus, the contract being made, the parties begin to send tokens the one to the other, the woman first, then afterwards the man, but yet see not one another till the marriage be solemnized. On the eave before the marriage day, the bride is carried in a *collimago* or coach, or in a sledde (if it be winter) to the bridegromes house, with hir marriage apparell and bedstead with hir, which they are to lie in. For this is ever provided by the bride, and is commonly very faire, with much cost bestowed upon it. Here she is accompaned all that night by hir mother and other women: but not welcommed, nor once seene by the bridegrome himselfe.

Ceremonies in marriages.

When the time is come to have the marriage solemnized, the bride hath put upon her a kind of hood, made of fine knitworke or lawne, that covereth her head and all her body downe to the middle. And so, accompanied with her friends, and the bridegroome with his, they goe to church all on horsebacke, though the church bee neere hande and themselves but of very meane degree. The wordes of contract and other ceremonies in solemnizing the marriage, are much after the order and with the same wordes that are used with us: with a ring also given to the bride. Which beeing put on, and the wordes of contract pronounced: the brides hand is delivered into the hand of the bride groome, which standeth al this while on the one side of the altar or table, and the bride on the other. So the marriage knot beeing knitte by the priest, the bride commeth to the bridegroome (standing at the end of the altar or table) and falleth downe at his feete, knocking her head upon his shooe, in token of her subjection and obedience. And the bridegroome againe casteth the lappe of his gowne or upper garment over the bride, in token of his duetie to protect and cherish her.

Then the bridegroome and bride, standing both together at the tables ende, commeth first the father and the other friends of the bride, and bowe themselves downe low to the

bridegroome: and so likewise his friends bow themselves to the bride, in token of affinity and love ever after betwixt the two kinreds. And withall, the father of the bridegroome offreth to the priest a loafe of bread, who delivereth it straight again to the father and other friends of the bride, with attestation before God and their idols, that hee deliver the dowry wholly and truely at the day appointed, and hold love ever after one kinred with another. Wherupon they break the loaf into pieces and eate of it, to testifie their true and sincere meanings for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as grains of one loafe or men of one table.

These ceremonies being ended, the bridegroome taketh the bride by the hand, and so they goe on together with their friendes after them towardes the church porche. Where meete them certein with pots and cups in their handes, with meade and Russe wine. Wherof the bridegroome taketh first a *charke*, or little cuppe full in his hand, and drinketh to the bride: who, opening her hood or vale below, and putting the cup to her mouth underneath it (for beeing seene of the bridegroome) pleadgeth him agayne. Thus returning altogether from the church, the bridegroome goeth not home to his owne, but to his fathers house, and she likewise to hers, where either intertayn their friends apart. At the entring into the house, they use to fling corne out of the windowes upon the bridegroome and bride, in token of plentie and fruitfulnes to bee with them ever after.

When the evening is come, the bride is brought to the bridegrooms fathers house, and there lodgeth that night, with her vale or cover still over her head. All that night she may not speak one word (for that charge she receiveth by tradition from her mother, and other matrones her friendes) that the bridegroome must neither heare nor see her till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after may shee bee hearde to speake, save certeyne fewe

wordes at the table in a set forme, with great manners and reverence to the bridegroome. If she behave her selfe otherwise, it is a great prejudice to her credite and life ever after: and will highly be disliked of the bridegroome himselfe.

After the third day they depart to their owne, and make a feast to both their friends together. The marriage day, and the whole time of their festivall, the bridegroome hath the honour to bee called *moloday knez*, or yong duke, and the bride, *moloday knezay*, or young dutchesse.

In living with their wives, they shewe shemselves to be but of a barbarous condition: using them as servaunts rather then wives. Except the noble-women, which are, or seeme to be, of more estimation with their husbands then the rest of meaner sort. They have this fowle abuse, contrary to good order and the worde of God it selfe, that upon dislike of his wife or other cause whatsoever, the man may goe into a monasterie and shire himselfe a frier by pretence of devotion, and so leave his wife to shift for her selfe so well as she can.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the other Ceremonies of the Russe Church.

The signe of the crosse.

THE other ceremonies of their churche are manie in number: especially the abuse about the signe of the crosse, which they set up in their high wayes, in the tops of their churches, and in every doore of their houses, signing themselves continually with it on their foreheads and brests with great devotion, as they will seeme by their outward gesture. Which were lesse offence, if they gave not withall that religious reverence and worship unto it which is due to God onely, and used

the dumb shewe and signing of it, insteede of thanksgiving and of all other ducties which they owe unto God. When they rise in the morning, they goe commonly in the sight of some steeple that hath a crosse on the toppe: and so bowing themselves towardes the crosse, signe themselves withal on their foreheads and brests. And this is their thanksgiving to God for their nightes rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, "*Aspody Pomeluy*," or, "Lorde have mercie upon us." When they sitte downe to meate, and rise againe from it, the thanksgiving to God is the crossing of their foreheads and brests. Except it be some few that adde, peradventure, a worde or two of some ordinarie prayer, impertinent to that purpose. When they are to give an oath for the deciding of anie controversie at lawe, they doe it by swearing by the crosse and kissing the feet of it, making it as God, whose name only is to bee used in such triall of justice. When they enter into any house (where ever there is an idole hanging on the wall) they signe themselves with the crosse and bow themselves to it. When they begin any work, bee it little or much, they arme them selves first with the signe of the crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer to God for good speede of their businesse. And thus they serve God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine maner: not understanding what the crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all strangers Christians to be no better then Turkes in comparison of themselves (and so they wil say), because they bow not themselves when they meete with the crosse, nor signe themselves with it, as the Russe maner is.

Holy water.

They have holie water in like use and estimation as the Popish Church hath. But herein they exceede them, in that they doe not onely hallow their holie water stockes and tubbes ful of water, but all the rivers of the countrey once every yeere. At Mosko it is done with great pompe and solemnitie, the emperour himselfe being present at it with

Hallowing of rivers.

all his nobility, marching through the streets towards the river of Mosko in manner of procession, in this order as followeth. First goe two deacons with banners in their hands, the one of *Precheste* (or our Ladie), the other of S. Michael, fighting with his dragon. Then follow after the rest of the deacons and the priests of Mosko, two and two in a ranke, with coaps on their backs and their idols at their brest, carried with girdles or slinges made fast about their necks. Next the priests come their bishops, in their *pontificalibus;* then the friers, monks, and abbots; and after, the patriarches, in very rich attire, with a ball or sphere on the top of his myter, to signifie his universalitie over that Church. Last commeth the emperor, with all his nobility. The whole traine is of a mile long or more. When they are come to the river a great hole is made in the yse, where the market is kept, of a rod and a halfe broad, with a stage round about it to keepe off the presse. Then beginneth the patriarch to say certaine praiers, and conjureth the divel to come out of the water; and so, casting in salt and censing it with frankincense, maketh the whole river to become holy water. The morning before, all the people of Mosko use to make crosses of chawlke over everie doore and window of their houses: least the divell, beyng conjured out of the water, shoulde flye into their houses.

When the ceremonies are ended, you shal see the black gard of the emperours house, and then the rest of the towne, with their pailes and buckets, to take off the hallowed water for drinke and other uses. You shall also see the women dippe in their children over head and eares, and many men and women leape into it, some naked, some with their clothes on, when some man woulde thinke his finger woulde freese off, if hee should but dippe it into the water. When the men have done, they bring their horse to the river to drinke of the sanctified water: and so make them as holie as a horse. Their set day for this solemne action of hallowing their

rivers, is that we cal Twelfthday. The like is done by other bishops in al parts of the realme.

Their maner is also to give it to their sick in their greatest extremitie, thinking that it will eyther recover them or sanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many through their unreasonable superstition, as did the Lord Borris [Godunow] his onely sonne, at my beyng at the Mosko: whom he killed (as was said by the phisitions) by powring into him colde holie water, and presenting him naked into the church to their Saynt Basileo, in the colde of the winter, in an extremitie of sicknesse. Drinking of holy water

They have an image of Christ, which they call *Neruchi* (which signifieth as much as made without hands) for so their priests and superstition withal perswadeth them it was. This in their processions they carry about with them on high upon a pole, enclosed within a pixe made like a lanthorn, and doe reverence to it as to a great mysterie.

At every brewing their maner is likewise to bring a dish of their woort to the priest, within the church; which beyng hallowed by him is powred into the brewing, and so giveth it such a vertue, as when they drink of it they are seldome sober. The like they doe with the first fruites of their corne in harvest. Brewing with holy water.

They have another ceremonie on Palmsunday, of auncient tradition: what time the patriarch rideth through the Mosko, the emperour himself holding his horse bridle, and the people crying "Hosanna," and spreding their upper garmentes under his horse feete. The emperour hath of the patriarch, for his good service of that day, 200 rubbels of standing pension. Another pageant they have, much like to this, the weeke before the nativitie of Christ: when every bishop in his cathedral church setteth forth a shew of the three children in the oven.[1] Where the Angell is Palmsunday.

[1] [The show refers to a legend of St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, the saint held in most honour by the Russians.]

made to come flying from the roofe of the church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terrible flashes of fire are made with rosen and gun-powder by the Chaldeans (as they call them), that run about the towne all the twelve dayes, disguised in their plaiers coats, and make much good sport for the honour of the bishops pageant. At the Mosko, the emperour himselfe and the empresse never faile to be at it, though it be but the same matter plaid every yeere, without any new invention at all.

Fasts. Besides their fasts on Wednesdayes and Fridayes throughout the whole yeere (the one because they say Christ was solde on the Wednesday, the other because he suffered on the Friday), they have four great fastes or Lentes every yeere. The first (which they call their great Lent) is at the same time with ours. The second, about midsommer. The third, in harvest time. The fourth, about Hallontide, which they keepe not of pollicie, but of meere superstition. In their great Lent, for the first weeke, they eatē nothing but bread and salt and drinke nothing but water, neither meddle with anie matter of their vocation, but intende their shriving and fasting only. They have also three vigils or wakes in their great Lent, which they cal *stojania;* and the last Vigils. Friday, their great vigil, as they cal it. What time the whole parish must bee present in the church, and watch from nine a clocke in the evening til sixe in the morning, all the while standing, save when they fall downe and knock their heads to their idoles, which must be an hundred and seventie times, just through the whole night.

Burials. About their burials also, they have manie superstitious and prophane ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corpes a letter to Saint Nicôlas, whome they make their chiefe mediatour, and, as it were, the porter of heaven gates, as the Papistes doe their Peter.

In winter time, when all is covered with snow, and the ground so hard frozen as that no spade nor pikeaxe can

enter, their manner is not to burie their dead, but to keepe the bodies (so many as die all the winter time) in an house in the suburbs or outparts of the towne, which they call *Bohsedom*, that is, Gods house, where the dead bodies are pyled up together, like billets on a woodstack, as hard with frost as a very stone, till the springtide come and resolveth the frost: what time every man taketh his dead friend and committeth him to the ground.

They have, besides, their yeeres and moneths mindes for their friendes departed. What time they have praiers saide over the grave by the priest, who hath a penie ordinarie for his paines. When any dieth they have ordinary women mourners, that come to lament for the dead party; and stand howling over the bodie, after a prophane and heathenish manner, sometimes in the house, sometimes bringing the bodie into the backside, asking him what hee wanted, and what he meant to die. They bury their dead as the party used to goe, with coate, hose, bootes, hat, and the rest of his apparell. Moneths mindes.

Many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies they have, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appeare how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge and practise of Christian religion, having exchanged the worde of God for their vaine traditions, and brought al to external and ridiculous ceremonies, without anie regard of spirite and trueth, which God requireth in his true worship.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Emperours domestike or private Behaviour.

THE emperours private behaviour, so much as may bee, or is meete to bee known, is after this maner. Hee riseth commonly about 4 a clock in the morning. After his apparelling and washing, in commeth his ghostly father or priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue *otetz duhouna*, with his crosse in his hand, wherwith he blesseth him, laying it first on his forehead, then upon his cheekes or sides of his face, and then offreth him the ende of it to kisse. This done, the clearke of the crosse (called *chresby deyack profery*) bringeth into his chamber a painted image, representing the saint for that day. For every day with them hath his severall saint, as it were the patrone for that day. This he placeth among the rest of his image gods, wherewithall his chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with lampes and waxe candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with pearle and precious stone. This image being placed before him, the emperour beginneth to crosse himselfe after the Russe manner, first on the forehead, then on both sides of his breaste, with "*Aspody pomeluy, pomeluy mena hospody, sacroy mena gresnick syhodestua;*" which is as much to say as, "Helpe me O Lorde my God, Lorde comfort me, defende and keepe me, a sinner, from doing evill," &c. This hee directeth towardes the image, or saynt for that day, whom hee nameth in his prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call Precheste), Saint Nicholas, or some other, to whome he beareth most devotion, bowing himself prostrate unto them, with knocking his head to the verie ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre, or thereabouts.

His private prayer.

Then commeth againe the ghostly father, or chamber

priest, with a silver bowle full of holy water, which they call in Russe, *sweta voda*, and a sprinkle of basill (as they call it) in his hand; and so al to besprinkleth first the image gods, and then the emperour. This holy water is brought fresh every day from the monasteries, farre and neere, sent to the emperour from the abbot or prior, in the name of the saint that is patrone of that monastery, as a speciall token of good wil from him.

These devotions being ended, he sendeth in to the empresse to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pawse goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle roome betwixt both their chambers. The empresse lieth apart from him, and keepeth not one chamber, nor table with the emperour ordinarily, save upon the eave of their Lentes or common fastes, what time she is his ordinarie ghest at bedde and boorde. After their meeting in the morning, they goe together to their private churche or chappell, where is sayde or soung a morning service (called *zautrana*) of an houre long or thereabouts. From the church hee returneth home, and sitteth him downe in a great chamber, to be seene and saluted by his nobilitie, such as are in favour about the court. If hee have to say to anie of them, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinarie, except his health or some other occasion alter the custome.

The emperour giveth presence every morning.

About nine in the morning he goeth to another church within his castle, where is soung by priests and choristers the high service (called *obeadna*, or complin), which commonly lasteth two houres, the emperour in the mean time talking, commonly, with some of his councell, nobilitie, or captaines, which have to say to him or he to them. And the councell likewise conferre together among themselves, as if they were in their councell house. This ended he returneth home, and recreateth himselfe untill it be dinner time.

He is served at his table on this manner. First, every dish (as it is delivered at the dresser) is tasted by the cooke,

The emperours service at his table.

in the presence of the high stewarde or his deputie. And so is receyved by the gentlemen wayters (called *shilshey*) and by them carried up to the emperours table, the high stewarde or his deputie going before. There it is received by the sewer (called *erastnoy*) who giveth a taste of everie dishe to the taster, and so placeth it before the emperour. The number of his dishes for his ordinarie service is about seventy: dressed somewhat grosely, with much garlicke and salt, much after the Doutch manner. When hee exceedeth upon some occasion of the day, or entertainment of some ambassador, he hath many more dishes. The service is sent up by two dishes at a time, or three at the most, that he may eate it warme, first the baked, then the rost meats, and last the brothes. In his dyning chamber is an other table, where sit the chiefe of his nobilitie that are about his court, and his ghostly father, or chapleine. On the one side of the chamber standeth a cubbard or table of plate, very fayre and riche, with a great cesterne of copper by it, full of yse and snow, wherein stande the pottes that serve for that meale. The taster holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all dinner time, and delivereth it unto him with a say, when hee calleth for it. The manner is to make many dishes out of the service after it is set on the table, and to send them to such noblemen and officers as the emperour liketh best: and this is counted a great favour and honour.

After dinner hee layeth him downe to reste, where commonly hee taketh three houres sleepe, except he employ one of the houres to bathing or boxing. And this custome for sleeping after dinner is an ordinary matter with him, as with all the Russes. After his sleepe, he goeth to evensong (called *vechurna*), and thence returning, for the most parte recreateth himself with the empresse till supper time, with jesters and dwarfes, men and women, that tumble before him, and sing many songs after the Russe manner. This is his common recreation betwixt meales, that hee moste de-

lightes in. One other speciall recreation is the fight with wilde beares, which are caught in pittes or nets, and are kepte in barred cages for that purpose, against the emperour be disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the beare is on this sort. The man is turned into a circle walled round about, where he is to quite himselfe so well as he can, for there is no way to flie out. When the beare is turned loose, he commeth upon him with open mouth. If at the first pushe hee misse his aime, so that the beare come within him, hee is in great daunger. But the wilde beare being very fearse, hath this qualitie, that giveth advantage to the hunter. His manner is when he assaileth a man, to rise up right on his two hinder legges, and so to come roaring with open mouth upon him. And if the hunter then can pushe right into the very brest of him betwixt his fore legges (as commonly hee will not misse), resting the other ende of their boarespeare at the side of his foote, and so keeping the pike still towards the face of the beare, he speedeth him commonly at one blow. But many times these hunters come short, and are either slaine, or miserably torne with the teeth and talents of the fierce beast. If the party quite himselfe well in this fight with the beare, he is carried to drinke at the emperour's seller door, where he drinketh himselfe drunke for the honor of *Hospodare*. And this is his reward for adventuring his life for the emperours pleasure. To maintaine this pastime the emperor hath certein huntsmen that are appointed for that purpose to take the wild beare. This is his recreation commonly on the holy daies. Sometimes he spendeth his time in looking upon his goldsmiths and jewellers, tailers, embroderers, painters, and such like, and so goeth to his supper. When it draweth towards bed time, his priest saieth certein praiers: and then the emperour blesseth and crosseth himselfe, as in the morning, for a quarter of an houre or thereaboutes, and so goeth to his bedde.

The emperour that now is (called Theodore Ivanowich) is for his person of a meane stature, somewhat lowe and grosse, of a sallowe complexion, and inclining to the dropsie, hawke nosed, unsteady in his pase by reason of some weakenes of his lims, heavie and unactive, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For qualitie otherwise, simple and slowe witted, but verie gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martial disposition, nor greatly apt for matter of pollicie, very superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his private devotions at home, he goeth every weeke commonly on pilgrimage to some monasterie or other that is nearest hand. He is of thirty-four yeares old, or thereaboutes, and hath reigned almost the space of sixe yeares.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Emperours private or householde Officers.

THE chiefe officers of the emperours houshold ar these which follow. The first is the office of the *boiaren conesheva*, or maister of the horse. Which conteineth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be overseer of the horse, and not *magister equitum*, or master of the horsemen. For he appointeth other for that service, as occasion dothe require (as before was said). He that beareth that office at this time is Borris Federowich Godonoe, brother to the empresse. Of horse for service in his warres (besides other for his ordinary uses) he hath to the number of 10,000, which are kept about Mosko.

Maister of the horse.

The next is the lord stewarde of his houshold, at this time one Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe. The third is his treasurer, that keepeth all his monies, jewels, plate, &c., now

The lord steward.

The lord treasurer.

called Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe. The fourth, his controller, now Andreas Petrowich Clesinine [Kleschnin]. The fift, his chamberlaine. He that attendeth that office at this time is called Estoma Bisabroza Pastelnischay. The sixt, his tasters, now Theodore Alexandrowich and Ivan Vasilowich Godonoe. The seventh, his harbengers, which are three noblemen, and divers other gentlemen that doo the office under them. These are his ordinarie officers and offices of the chiefest account. Controller. Chamberlaine. Tasters. Harbengers.

Of gentlemen beside, that wait about his chamber and person (called *shilsey strapsey*) there are two hundred, all noblemens sonnes. His ordinarie garde is 2,000 hagbutters, ready with their pieces charged and their match lighted, with other necessarie furniture, continually day and night: which come not within the house, but wait without in the court or yard, where the emperour is abiding. In the night time, there lodgeth next to his bedchamber the chiefe chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber of [off] there lodge sixe other, of like account for their trust and faithfulnesse. In the third chamber lie certeine young gentlemen of these two hundred called *shilsey strapsey*, that take their turnes by forties every night. There are grooms besides that watch in their course, and lie at every gate and doore of the court, called *estopnick*. Gentlemen of the chamber. The gard. Grooms.

The hagbutters or gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was said before) watch about the emperours lodging or bed chamber by course, two hundred and fiftie every night, and two hundred and fiftie more in the court yarde and about the treasure house. His court or house at the Mosko is made castle wise, walled about, with great stoare of faire ordinance planted upon the wall, and conteyneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knowen to be sure and trustie to the emperour.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the private behaviour, or qualitie of the Russe people.

Constitution of their bodies.

THE private behaviour and qualitie of the Russe people, may partly be understood by that whiche hath beene said concerning the publique state and usage of the countrie. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are for the most parte of a large sise and of very fleshly bodies, accounting it a grace to bee somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beardes to have them long and broad. But, for the most part, they are very unweldy and unactive withall. Which may bee thought to come partly of the climate, and the numbnes which they get by the cold in winter, and partly of their diet, that standeth most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and such like things that breed grosse humors, which they use to eate alone and with their other meates.

Their diet.

Their diet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a *chark*, or small cuppe, of *aqua vitæ* (which they call Russe wine) and then drinke not till towardes the ende of their meales, taking it in largely and all together, with kissing one another at every pledge. And therefore after dinner there is no talking with them, but every man goeth to his bench to take his afternoones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nightes reste. When they exceede and have varietie of dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roste meates they use little) and then their broathes or pottage. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them every day in the weeke. Their common drinke is mead; the poorer sort use water, and thinne drink called quasse, which is nothing els (as wee say) but water turned out of his wittes, with a little branne meashed with it.

This diet would breede in them many diseases, but that they use bathstoves or hote houses in steede of all phisicke, commonly twise or thrise every weeke. All the winter time, and almost the whole sommer, they heat their *peaches*, which are made lyke the Germane bathstoaves, and their *potlads*, like ovens, that so warme the house, that a straunger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the winter, of heat within their houses and of extreame colde without, together with their diet, maketh them of a darke and sallow complexion, their skinnes beyng tanned and parched both with colde and with heate, specially the women, that for the greater parte are of farre worse complexions then the men. Whereof the cause I take to bee, their keeping within the hote houses, and busying themselves about the heating and using of their bathstoves and peaches.

The Russe, because that hee is used to both these extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently then straungers can doo. You shal see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their bathstoves all on a froth, and fuming as hote almost as a pigge at a spitte, and presently to leape into the river starke naked, or to poure colde water all over their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the winter time. The women, to mende the bad hue of their skinnes, use to paint their faces with white and redde colours, so visibly that every man may perceyve it. Which is made no matter, because it is common and liked well by their husbandes, who make their wives and daughters an ordinarie allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselves much to see them of fowle women to become such faire images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

The noblemans attire.

They apparell themselves after the Greeke manner. The noblemans attire is on this fashion. First, a *taffia*, or little

night cappe, on his head, that covereth little more then his crowne, commonlie verie riche wrought of silke and gold thread, and set with pearle and pretious stone. His head he keepeth shaven close to the very skin, except he be in some displeasure with the emperour. Then hee suffereth his haire to growe and hang downe upon his shoulders, covering his face as ugly and deformedly as he can. Over the *taffia* he weareth a wide cap of black foxe (which they account for the best furre) with a tiara or long bonnet put within it, standing up like a Persian or Babilonian hat. About his neck (which is seene al bare) is a coller set with pearle and pretious stone, about three or foure fingers broad. Next over his shirt (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the sommer time while he is within the house) is a *shepon*, or light garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before; and then a *caftan*, or a close coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Persian girdle, whereat he hanges his knives and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ankles. Over that he weareth a lose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some gold lace, called a *ferris*. An other over that of chamlet or like stuffe, called an *alkaben*, sleeved and hanging low, and the cape commonly brooched and set all with pearle. When hee goeth abroad he casteth over all these (which are but sleight, though they seeme to be many) an other garment, called an *honoratkey*, like to the *alkaben*, save that it is made without a coller for the neck. And this is commonly of fine cloth or camels haire. His buskins (which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folles under them instead of boot hose) are made of a Persian leather called *saphian*, embroidered with pearle. His upper stockes commonly are of cloth of gold. When he goeth abroad he mounteth on horsebacke, though it be but to the next doore, which is the manner also of the *boiarskey* or gentlemen.

The *boiarskey* or gentlemans attire is of the same fashion, but differeth in stuffe; and yet he will have his *caftan* or undercoat sometimes of cloth of gold, the rest of cloth or silke. The gentlemans apparell.

The noble woman (called *chyna boiarshena*) weareth on hir head, first, a caull of some soft silke (which is commonly redde) and over it a fruntlet, called *obrosa*, of white colour. Over that, hir cap (made after the coife fashion of cloth of gold) called *shapka zempska*, edged with some riche furre, and set with pearle and stone. Though they have of late begonne to disdaine embrodering with pearle about their cappes, because the diacks and some marchants wives have taken up the fashion. In their eares they weare earerings (which they call *sargee*) of two inches or more compasse, the matter of gold, set with rubies, or saphires, or some like pretious stone. In sommer, they goe often with kerchieffes of fine white lawn or cambricke fastned under the chinne, with two long tassels pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white hattes with coloured bands (called *stapa zemskoy*). About their necks they were collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with riche pearle and pretious stone. Their upper garment is a loose gowne, called *oposhen*, commonly of skarlet, with wide loose sleeves hanging downe to the ground, buttened before with great gold buttons, or, at least, silver and guilt, nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging over it, fastned under the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backes. Next under the *oposken* or upper garment they weare another, called a *leitnick*, that is made close before with great wide sleeves, the cuffe or half sleeve up to the elbowes, commonly of cloth of gold; and under that a *ferris zemskoy*, which hangeth loose, buttoned throughout to the very foote. On the hand wrests they weare very faire brasclets, about two fingers The noble womans attire.

broad, of pearle and pretious stone. They go all in buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the noblewoman of Russia, when shee maketh the best shew of hir selfe. The gentlewomans apparell may differ in the stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

The *mousicks*, or common maus attire.

As for the poore *mousick* and his wife, they go poorely cladde. The man, with his *odnoratkey*, or loose gowne, to the small of the legge, tyed together with a lace before, of coarse white or blew cloth, with some *shube*, or long wastcoat, of furre or of sheepskinne under it, and his furred cappe and buskins. The poorer sort of them have their *odnoratkey* or upper garment, made of kowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backes and buskins on their legges. The woman goeth in a redde or blew gowne when she maketh the best shew, and with some warme *shube* of furre under it in the winter time. But in the sommer nothing but her two shirts (for so they call them) one over the other, whether they be within doores or without. On their heades they weare caps of some coloured stuffe, many of velvet or of cloth of golde; but for the most part kerchiefes. Without earings of silver or some other mettall, and her crosse about her necke, you shal see no Russe woman, be shee wife or maide.

Their wits and capacities.

As touching their behaviour and quality otherwise, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those means that some other nations have to traine up their wittes in good nurture and learning. Which they might borrowe of the Polonians and other their neighbours, but that they refuse it of a very self pride, as accounting their owne fashions to be far the best. Partly also (as I said before) for that their manner of bringing up (voide of all good learning and civill behaviour) is thought by their governours most agreeable to that state and their manner of government. Which the

people would hardely beare, if they were once civilled and brought to more understanding of God and good policie. This causeth the emperours to keep out al meanes of making it better, and to be very warie for excluding of all peregrinitie that might alter their fashions. Which were lesse to bee disliked, if it set not a print into the very mindes of his people. For as themselves are verie hardlie and cruellie dealte withall by their chiefe magistrates and other superiours, so are they as cruell one against an other, specially over their inferiours and such as are under them. So that the basest and wretchedest *Christianoe* (as they call him) that stoupeth and croucheth like a dogge to the gentleman, and licketh up the dust that lieth at his feete, is an intollerable tyrant where he hath the advantage. By this meanes the whole countrie is filled with rapine and murder. They make no account of the life of a man. You shall have a man robbed sometime in the very streats of their townes, if hee goe late in the evening, and yet no man to come forth out of his doores to rescue him, though hee heare him crie out. I will not speake of the straungenesse of the murders and other cruelties committed among them, that would scarsly bee beleeved to bee done among men, specially such as professe themselves Christians.

Crueltie of the Russe people.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almost infinite, that are so pinched with famine and extreame neede, as that they begge after a violent and desperate manner, with "give mee and cut mee, give mee and kill mee," and such like phrases. Whereby it may bee gheassed what they are towardes straungers, that are so unnaturall and cruell towardes their owne. And yet it may bee doubted whither is the greater, the crueltie or intemperancie that is used in that countrie. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule and not to bee named. The whole countrie overfloweth with all sinne of that kinde.[1] And no marveile, as having no lawe to

Intemperancie.

[1] [See a confirmation of this charge in Horsey's Narrative, p. 164.]

restraine whoredomes, adulteries, and like uncleannesse of life.

As for the truth of his word, the Russe for the most part maketh small regard of it, so he may gaine by a lie and breache of his promise. And it may be saide truely (as they know best that have traded most with them) that from the great to the small (except some fewe that will scarcely be founde) the Russe neither beleeveth any thing that an other man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthie to be beleeved. These qualities make them very odious to all their neighbours, specially to the Tartars, that account themselves to be honest and just in comparison of the Russe. It is supposed by some that doe well consider of the state of both countries, that the offence they take at the Russe government and their maner of behaviour, hath beene a great cause to keepe the Tartar still heathenish, and to mislike (as he doeth) of the Christian profession.

FINIS.

A

RELACION OR MEMORIALL

ABSTRACTED OWT OF

SIR JEROM HORSEY

HIS TRAVELLS,

IMPLOIMENTS, SERVICES AND NEGOCIACIONS,

OBSERVED AND WRITTEN WITH HIS OWNE HAND;
WHERIN HE SPENT THE MOST PART OF
EIGHTEN YEARS TYME.

FIRST DEDICATED TO THAT WOORTHYE AND RIGHT HONNORABLE OF MEMORIE, SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, KNIGHT, PRINCIPALL SECRÆTARIE OF ESTATE, AND TO OTHER HIS WOORTHYE LOVINGE FRENDS AND ALLIES, THAT DID DESIER AN ACCOUNT OF THE SAME; AND BY THEM SINCE THOUGHT NOT UNWOORTHYE THE PUBLISHINGE TO SUCH OTHERS AS TAKE DELIGHT TO READ FORREN HISTORIES.

JER. HORSEY.

TRAVELS

OF

SIR JEROME HORSEY.

TO THE RIGHT HONNORABLE SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, KNIGHT, PRINCIPALL SECREATORY OF ESTATE UNTO HER MAJESTY.

HAVINGE found and felt your love and favour so great towardes the furtheringe of my well doinge and prefirment, sinc the happie tyme my most woorthye frend and kyndsman, Sir Edward Horsey, first brought my aquaintance unto your honnor; 'and' knowinge your noble disposicion, and desier to understand the estate and forren occurants; and accordinge to your advice and instructions (hertofore geaven me), I hold it noe less a dutie of thankfulnes in me to render an accounte of such things as most propperly are due unto your place, of all others to be advertised of; and for the incouragment of others that maye reape some benefett by the knowinge and doinge the like; I have thought good, by waye of discourse or treatice, first unto your honnour, and next to you, my right woorthy good frendes, that ar desirous to knowe my observacions in my travells, imploiments, and negociacions, of the most rare and remarcable things of the knowen countries and kyngdoms in the north and north-wasteren parts of Europia and Sithia, as Russia,

Moscovia, Tartaria, with all those continent territories and kyngdoms adjacent, Pollonia, Transilvania, Littuania, and Livonia, Swethia, Denmarcke, cittuated betwene the Northern Ocian and 'the' Balticque Seas; the empier and emperiall spacious principallities of high Garmanie; of the five upper and neither united cantons, Clevia, Wæstphallia, Fresland; the lowe countries of Bass Garmania, comonly called Flaunders, Brabant, Seland and Holland, consistinge of the seaventine United Provinces; their chieff citties and towns of trafficque and commers, both inland and maritene; their comodities, their universities and aunctient monnements; their climates and cittuacions, lawes, luanguages, religion, discipline of church and comonwealth, and naturall disposicion of the peopll. All which I mynde to contract in fower severall and distinct treatices, as compendious and methodicall as my observation and seaventine years experience will geave me leave.

The first, after I had ben and seen som part of France and the Low Countries, in thir 'florishing but' most trowbsom tyme of warr, I arived in Muscovia,[1] comonly called Russia. Though but a plaine gramarian, and havinge som smake in the Græk, I ateyned by the affinitie therof in shortt tyme to the readie and famillier knowledge of their vulgar speach, the Sclavonian tonge, the most copius and elegent language in the world. With som small abreviacion and pronunciacion, yt coms near the Polish, Lettois, Transilvania, and all those adjacent countries; and yt will serve in Turcky, Percia, eaven to the knowen Indies, &c. I read in their cronickells, written and kept in secreat by a great priem prince of that country, named Knez Ivan Fedorowich Mistisloskoie,[2] whoe, owt of his love and favour, imparted unto me many secreats, observed in the memorie and procis of his tyme, which was fower score years, of the state, natur, and government of that comonweelth; of which I made good use when discourse

[1] In anno 1572. [2] [See Fletcher, p. 36, note 3.]

amonge them served, committinge matters done in former ages (in the latter end of Vazillie Andreowich[1] his reigne, stylled then but Great Duke of Volladomeria, Russia, Muscovia, &c., the cathologe wherof I reffer to a more fitter place), that he had inlarged his countries and dominions verie much in his tyme, bothe upon the Poll, Swethian, and especially upon the Tartors, the great Cithian Crim or Came; leaft his countys and people in great peace and tranquillitie, strong and rich, and his princis in charge of government, to defend his countries and kingdoms, devided into fower parts; and his two sonns, the eldest of five years age, called Velica Knez Ivan Vazilewich, to reygne and govern after him; the other, of two years of age, Duke of a teritarie caled Vaga. This great Duke of all Russia, Ivan Vazillewich, grew up comly in person, indued with great witt, excelent gifts and graces, fitt for government of so great a monarchie; maried, at twelve years, Natacia Romanova,[2] daughter to a gentilman of good ranck; Mekita Romanowich, her brother, hightly advanced. This Emporis became wise, and of such hollynes, vertue, and government, as she was honnored, beloved and feared, of all her subjects. He being yonge and rioutus, she ruled him with admirable affabellitie and wisdome, that, with the prowes and courage of his princes, bishops, and counsaill, he cast of the yoake of hommage his predecessors alwaies did unto the great Cithian Emperor of the Crymes; conquered the empier and emperors of Cazan and Astracan, 2,700 miells from his cittie of Musco, down the great river Volga, near the Caspian Sea; conquered, in a short space after, all the princes and their countries of Tartaria of divers sortts, and brought a great people under his subjection; the dissolution 'devastation' wherof to this daye is most mornfully songe and spoken of emonge those nacions. Through which conquest he

[1] [An error for Ivanovitch.]

[2] [Anastasia, daughter of George Romanow.]

gathered great strenght and gott great fame, and therby assumed to himself two severall crowns and empirdoms, and by a generall counsall of all his princes, nobells, prelats, and people, was crowned and stilled the Emperor, Great Monnarch and Great Duke of Cazan, Astracan, Musco, Vollademeria, Novogorodia, Russia, and a great rabelment more of the names of his provinces, which he would have all kings ambassadors recite and acknowledge, with whom he had any corespondencie. But yet he had continuall warrs with the Crimme Tartor, who did sore anoye him and his subjects with their yearly incourcions. As he grew in years and greatnes, so did his conquests increase and augment; he gott from the kinge of Poland the famous citties of Pollolskoy, Smolenscoye, Doragabuse, Vazma, and many other towns, with much riches and infinite nombers of people captives, seaven hondred miells within their confines; Bella Russia and Littuania, goodly towns of trafficque, and countries yeldinge great comodites, wax, flex, and hemp, tallow, hiedes, corn, and cattell aboundance; many nobles and of the gentry and merchants bought and sold, and putt to great ranzoms; so that he grew verie puisante, prowd, mightie, cruell, and bloudye in his conquests. And when his good Quen died, Emporis Nastacia,[1] who was connoniced a sainte and so woorshiped in their churches to this daye, havinge by her two sonns, Ivan and Theodor, then he maried one of the Chircase princises,[2] by whome he had noe isshue that he would be knowen of. The manner and solempnacie of this mariage was so streinge and heathenly, as creditt will hardly be geaven to the truthe therof. Ther-

[1] [The Czarina Anastasia died on the 7th of August, 1560. It was only on the withdrawal of her good influence, that Ivan commenced that career of tyranny and cruelty which has given him the designation of "The Terrible."]

[2] [Ivan's marriage with the daughter of Tañgrouk, a prince of the Tcherkesses, baptized under the name of Maria, took place on the 21st of August, 1561.]

fore I will forbare to repeate the naracion owt of their owne histories, and come nearer the tymes of my own knowledge.

He havinge strenghthned himself, not only by his conquests of those empiredoms, as their speach terms them, of Casan and Astracan, bringinge captive the chieff and most of all their princes and mightiest men of warr, but also by this late mariage gotton an invincable powere and strenght of these Tartarians, resolute and better souldiers then themselves; as well to make use of them to suppress and curb such of his princes and nobells as he perceaved wear in discontentment and in mutinie against him for his most cruell slautteringe, murtheringe, and incessant massacring, robbinge, and puttinge to death of his nobillitie; swellinge in ambicion, bostinge beyond all sence 'reason' what conquest he intended, setts forward with an army of a hondred thowsand horss and fiftie thousand foate, cannon and all artillerie, munición, vittualls, and all other provicions accordingly, towards Livonia and Swethia, the confins of that parte of Christendom; kills and murthers men, weomen, and children that crosseth his army, betwen him and Novogorode and Plæsco, two greatest mart 'maritime or traide' towns for trafficque of all the easteren parts, with the Narve, standinge triangell 'wise in' equall distance at the ende or gulff of the Baltique esteren sea, hertofore belonginge to the fredom of Livonia, governed by a freher or absolute state, where he built a strong castell, I mean at the Narve, called Ivana-gorrode, to comaunde the town; and caused the eyes of the buylder to be pulled 'bored' owt for his so rare architecture. From Vobsco he enters the confines of Livonia, sends Knez Michaell Glinscoye with the cannon to besiege the first castell, called Newe Howse, takes it and the souldiers captives, and puts in 300 souldiers for garison therof, to whom he gave the spoill and pilledge; besieges and takes other small towns and castells in his waye to Dorpe, a great and stronge town of trafficque, bat-

ters and besiges it: they yeld with a dejective flag of truce; fower thowsand Tartars carie awaye eight thowsand captives, men, weomen, and children; the treasure and merchandizes taken and sent to Novogorrod for the Emperors use. He goes forward, severinge his armye into fower troups, without resistance, and tenn thowsand to guard and drawe his ordinance over revers and standinge ozerors [lakes] frozen hard and all over; takes many castells, towns, and villages, riches, cattell, and peopell, in his waye to Pernoy, Hopsoll [Gapsal?], Loyell, Wenden, Golden [Goldingen], Mitoe, and many other stronge towns standinge neare the Esteren Sea, to the nomber of 30 walde towns within two houndred miells compas. O the lamentable owtcries and cruell slaughters, drowninge and burninge, ravizinge of weomen and mayeds, strippinge them naked without mercie or regard of the frossen weather, tyenge and byndinge them by three and by fower at their horses taiells, dragginge them, som alive som dead, all bloudye 'ing' the wayes and streates, lieinge full of carcasses of the aged men and weomen and infants; some goodlie persons cladd in vellett, damaske, and silkes, with jewelles, gold, and perrell hidd about them; the farest people in the world, by reason of their genaracion 'contry' and clymatt, cold and drye. Ther was infinett nombers thus sent and dragged into Russia. The riches, in mony and merchandizes and other treasur, that was conveyed and caried owt of these citties and countrye, and owt of 600 churches robbed and distroyed, was unvaluable. Thus the Emperor and his cruell and hellish Tartors, having ranged and ransacked this goodly country and misserable people, came at last to the capitall and chieff cittie called Reavell, by him Steucoll, standinge and built verie stronge upon a high rocky mountaine, upon the edge of the Balticque Sea, over against Stockhollmn in Swethia; besiges it with twenty thowsand men; batters it with 20 cannons; the souldiers, men, and weoman within the town, make upp the breaches i·

night that wear battered in the daye, with carrienge and castinge hott and cold water, which continiwally frose so thicke, as the Emperor, 'after' six weekes siege and 20 thowsand cannon shott, did littell prevalle; wherwith, and 'with' the loss of six thowsand men, he hasted his retreat and leaft it with shame. The sudden thaue and inundacion of the great land waters made him to lose a great deall of his artillerie, buties, and baggage, and at least 30 thowsand men in his retiringe; so that he, beinge overcom with furye and madnes, of this repuls and loss of the most and best part of his huge army and ordinance, he hasted to put in execucion the most bloudye and cruelst massacre that ever was hærd of in any age. He comes to the Narve, robbs and spoiells the town of all their riches, wealth, and merchandizes, kylls and murthers men, weomen, and children, and gives the spoill to his Tartor army. Thence to Plæscovia or Vobsco [Pskov], where he intended to do the like, because he was incenced, and easily made belive those two towns and Novogorode had conspired his death, and practiced with his enymies the overthrowe of his army, and by their trecherous means and intilligence he was beaten from the sieg of Reavell, and susteyned that loss of men and munición; but that ther mett him an impostur or magician, which they held to be their oracle, a holly man, named Mickula Sweat, whoe, by his bold imprecacions and exsorsims, railings and threats, terminge him the Emperour bloudsuccer, the devourer and eater of Christian flesh, and swore by his angell that he should not escape deathe of a present thounder boltt, if he or any of his army did touch a hear in displeasur of the least childs head in that cittie, which God, by his good angell, did preserve for better purpose then his rapine; therfore to gett him thence before the fierie cloud, Gods wrath, wear raised, hanginge over his head as he might behold, beinge in a verie great and dark storm at that instant. These wordes made the Emperour to trembell, so as he

desired preyers for his deliverance and forgeavnes of his 'cruel' thoughts. I saw this impostur or magicion, a fowll creature, went naked both in winter and sommer; he indured both extreame frost and heat; did many streinge things thorow 'the' magicall illusions of the Divell; much followed, feared and reverenced, bothe of prince and people. But the Emperower returninge to the great cittie of Novogorod, wher all his captives and prisonors remayned, he beinge mightely displeased against this cittie, above all others, the inhabitants, for revenge of their treasons and træchories, 'as' joining with the discontented nobillitie, he chargeth it with 30 thowsand Tartors and tenn thowsand gonnors of his guard, withowt any respect ravished all the weomen and maieds, ranzacked, robbed, and spoilled all that wear within it of their jewells, plate, and treasur, murthered the people yonge and olde, burnt all their howshold stuff, merchandices, and warehowses of wax, flæx, tallow, hieds, salt, wynes, cloth, and silks, sett all one fier, with wax and tallow melted down the kennells in the streats, together with the bloud of 700 thowsande men, weomen and children, slaine and murthered; so that with the bloud that rann into the river, and of all other livinge creaturs and cattell, their dead carcacess did stoppe as it wear the stream of the river Volca, beinge cast therin.[1] Noe historie maketh mencion of so horrable a massacre. Which beinge thus done and distroied, the citie leaft dissolute [desolate] and wast, he returned with his army and Livonian captives towards his cittie Musquo. In the waye he imployes his captaines and other officers to drive and take owt of the towns and villages within 50 miells compas all sortts of people, gentilmen, pessants, merchants, and mouncks, old and yonge, with their famillies, goods, and cattells, to goe clens and inhabite this

[1] [The pillage of Novogrod and massacre of its citizens, took place in January and February 1570; the work of desolation and murder extending over a period of six weeks continuously.]

great and ruinated cittie of Novogorod, exposing them to a new slaughter; for many of them died with pestilence of the infected new and noisome eyr and place they came unto, which could not be replenished with people to any purpose, though many sent owt, of divers ages, remote towns and places, to inhabit ther.

This crueltie bread such a generall hatred, distreccion, fear, and discontentement thorow his kyngdom, that there wear many practices and devises how to distroy this tirant; but he still did discover their plotts and treasons, by inoiblinge [ennobling] and countenancinge all the rascalest and desperatt souldiers he could peek owt, to affront the chieff nobillitie. He imploied most of his tyme and these souldiers, after he had devided his spoills and settled his treasur and howse in the cittie of Musco, and in the strongest, greatest, and trustiest monnesteries, to ransacke and spoill and massacre the chieff nobillitie and richest officers, and other the best sortt of his merchants and subiects; his hands and hart, now so hardened and imbrued, did put many of them to most horrable and shamfull deaths and tortors—a base and servill peoplle without courage. And now distrustinge the fidellitie of his late conquered Tartors, did place them in garisons in and upon the confines of his last conquered towns and castells in Livonia and Swethia. Suspecting some insurrection at home, and especially the aproachinge power of his aunctient enymie the Sithian Came, Emperor of the Crimes, incited and stirred up, as he fownd owt, by his own nobillite and subiects, he levies owt of all his provinces most remote a huge army, consisting of Poolls, Swethians, and his own 100 thowsand horss and 50 thowsand foate (as well for his own saffetie and strenght, wherof he much upon just cause feared) to incounter and defend his enyme the Cryme, that was a preparinge to invade his countrys. In the mean 'time' he discards his Chircas wiff,[1]

[1] [Mary, the Tcherkess Princess, died in September 1569, and was not

shirs [shears] her a nun, and putts her in a monnesterie, and chooseth owt of many a subiect of his own, Natallia, daughter to Knez Feother Bulgacove, a chieff livtennant or viovode, of great trust and experience in his warrs.[1] But he soon after lost his head, and his daughter within a year shoren a nun also. The tyme aproacheth; news come his enymie the Cryme was onward the field, though fearfull to hyme yet pleasinge news to the most of his princes and people, that lived in this thrall and misery. Yt was God, that suffereth this wicked people, whoe live, flow and wallowe, in the verie hight of their lust and wickednes of the crienge Sodomiticall sines, to be thus justly punished and plaged with the tirranie of so bloudye a kynge: God, I say, hath now apointed a tyme, and prepared owt of his great justice a fearfull reveng and spectacle to all generacions, both for prince and people. The Sithian Emperowr[2] takes the oportunitie, enters the confines of Russia, stands with an army of 200 thowsand souldiers, all horsmen, within 50 miells compas upon the rivers sied Ocka, facinge the Emperowr Ivan Vazilewich his army of 100 thowsand gallant generalls and souldiers, whoe kepe the phords and passages very stronge with great artillarie, municion, suplie of men and arms, vittualls, and all other provicion plentifull. Upon hoep and secreat intelligence they ar incouraged, and ventur to swyme and pass the particion river without repuls. The Emperors army dare not (it is death to excead their comission) sturs not beyond their bounds of 25 miells compas to

discarded by Ivan. His third wife was Marfa Sabakina, daughter of a merchant in Novogrod, selected for her beauty out of two thousand young girls collected from all parts of the empire. The marriage took place on the 28th of October 1571; but the death of the bride followed quickly on her espousal; she expired on the 13th of November.]

[1] [I find no authority for this statement. After the death of Marfa Sabakina, Ivan married Anna Koltovskoy (1572), and repudiated her in 1577, placing her in a monastery.]

[2] [This invasion of Russia by Devlet Geray, Khan of the Crimea, took place in the year 1571.]

defend the enymies aproach, upon what advantage soever. The enemye being come a this side the river have noe lett, but speed towards Musco, but 90 miells of, wher the Emperor thincks himself secure. But the enime aproaching the great cittie Musco, the Russ Emperor flies, with his two sonns, treasur, howshold, servants, and personall guard of 20 thowsand gonnors, towards a stronge monesterie, Troietts, 60 miells of, upon Assencion daye. The enyme fiers St. Johns church high stepll: at which instant happened a wounderfull stormye wynd, through which all the churches, howses and palaces, within the cittie and suberbs 30 miells compas, built most of firr and oak tymber, was sett one fier and burnt within six howers space, with infinit thowsands men, weomen, and children, burnt and smothered to death by the fierie eyre, and likwise in the stone churches, monestaries, vaults, and sellors; verie fewe escapinge both without and within the three walled castells. The rever and ditches about Musco stopped and filled with the multituds of people, loaden with gold, silver, jewells, chains, ear-rings, brasletts and treasur, that went for succer eaven to save their heads above water. Notwithstandinge, so many thowsands wear ther burnt and drowned, as the river could not be ridd nor clensed of the dead carcasses, with all the means and industrye could be used in twelve monneths after; but those alive, and many from other towns and places, every daie wear occupied within a great circuat to search, dregg, and fish, as it wear, for rings, jewells, plate, baggs of gold and silver, by which many wear inriched ever after. The streets of the cittie, churches, sellors and vauts, laye so thicke and full of dead and smothered carcasses, as noe man could pass for the noisom smells and putrifection of the ear [air] longe after. The Emperowr of the Crimes and his armye beheld this goodly fier, lodged and solaced himself in a fare monuestarie by the river sied, fower miells of the cittie, called Symon monesterie; toke the wælth and riches they had, and

of all such as fledd from the fier. Though littell the better by fieringe of that within the cittie, they did the exploite they came for; returned with a nomber of captives, and loaden with that they had gotten, fearinge to be sett on by the army at Circapur. But they escaped over the river againe the waye they came.

The Russ Emperor fledd still farther of, with his two sonns and treasur, to a great town called Vologdae, where he thought himself more secure, 500 miells of. Much amased and perplexed for this great disaster befallen him, he, accompanied with his metropollits, bishops and clerge men, his chieff princes and aunctient nobillitie, now called for and sommined to a counsall ryall, and the enymie gone, dissolved his army that fought not a stroake for him; examined, racked, and tortered many of the viovods and chieff captaines; puts some to deathe; confiscated their goods and lands; distroied thir race and famillies; sett a course for clensinge, reparinge and repleanashinge, of the cittie of Musco, which was an infinett labour and worck to consult of. In the midst of which, this his great enymie, Chigaley Mursoye,[1] sends him an ambassador, attended with many moursers, noblemen after their acounte, all well horst, cladd but in shepskins coats, gertt to them, with black caps of the same, bow and arrowes, with curious rich semetaries [scimitars] by their sieds. They had a guard to kepe them in darck roems; stinckinge horse flesh and water was ther best foade, without bread or bear or bead [bed]. The tyme was com he must have audience; much disgrace and base usage was offered them; they indured, pufft, and scorned it. The Emperowr, with his three crowns befor him in his royall estate, with his princes and nobles about him, comaunded his shepskine coate and cap to be taken of him, and a golden roebe and rich cappe to be put one him. The ambassador well contented, he enters his presence; his followers kept

[1] [Read, Devlet Geray.]

backe in a space with graets of iron betwen the Emperor and them; at which the ambassador chaffes with a hellish, hollow voice, lokinge fearce and grimly. Fower captains of the gard bringe him near the Emperor's seat. Himself, a most ougly creature, without reverence, thonders owt, saies —his master and lord, Chigaley, great Emperor of all the kyngdoms and cams the sonn did spread his beams over, sent to him, Ivan Vazilewich, his vassall and great duke over all Russia by his permission, to know howe he did like the scourge of his displeasur by sword, fier and famen; had sent him for remedie (pulling owt a fowll rustie kniff) to cutt his throate withall. They hasted him forthe of the rome without aunswer, and would a taken of his golden gown and capp,[1] but he and his company strived with them so stowtly that he would not suffer them. Garded to the place from whence they wear brought, the Emperor fell into such an agony, sent for his ghostly father, tore his own hear and beard for madnes. The chieff captaine preyed his maiesties leave to cutt them all in peces, but had noe aunswer. After he had kept this ambassodor som tyme with som better usage, sent him awaye with this message:—"Tell the miscreant and unbeliver, thy master, yt is not he, 'it is' for my sines and 'the' sines of my people against my God and Christ; he it is that hath given him, a lym of Sathan, the power and oportunitie to be the instrument of my rebuke, by whose pleasur and grace I doupt not of revenge, and to make him my vassall or longe be." He aunswered, "He would not do him so much service to do any such message for him." Wherupon the Emperor not longe after did adress a wise, noble gentilman for his ambassador, Alfonasse Federowich Nagoie, whoe was kept ther and indured much penurie, 'misery,' for the space of seaven years.

The Emperor was lothe to com to the cittie of Musco, though he sent for the chieff merchants, handicrafts and tradesmen,

[1] Would not forgoe his verie coate.

from all other his citties and towns within his kyngdom, to build and inhabitt ther, and drawe trafficque thether; toke awaye all imposicions; gave them fredom of customs; sett seaven thowsand mazons and worckmen to build a faire stone walle round abowt the Musco, which was finished in fower years space, verie stronge and beietefull, and furnished with verie fare and goodly peces of brass ordinance; settled his offices and officers of justice and governors therin, in manner and form as hertofore yt was, as tyme did permitt. Himself kept much at Vologda, upon the river Dwina, and at Slobida Alexandrisca [Slobode Alexandrowsky]; conferd much with Elizius Bomelius,[1] a Doctor of phizicke; sent for skilfull builders, archietæctors, carpenters, joyners, and mazons, gold smyths, phizicions, apothicaris, and such like, owt of England, havinge som purpose in his head which will shortly discover itself; builds a treasor-howse of stone, great barckes and bargies, to convey and transportt upon sudden occasion treasur to Sollavetska monnesterie,[2] standing upon the North Seas, the direct way into England. He had so flesed his merchants by takinge their comodits to exchainge with straingers for cloth of gold, dollers, perrell, jewells, etc., which he continewally toke into his treasurie, without paieng littell or nothinge, by that means borowinge great soms of citties, towns, and monnesteries, exhastinge all their wælth by great imposicions and customs to augment and increase his ownt reasur, became so odious and in such a desperat case as he devised how to prevent and alter his estate. To adnihill and frustrat all this he had ingaged his crown unto, made a separacion and devicion of his towns, offices, and subiects; called this oprisnoie and the other Zemscoie;[3] established a newe Kinge or Emperowr, named Char

[1] [A physician of Wesel, in Westphalia. See an account of him in Hamel's "England and Russia," pp. 202-205.]

[2] [In the island of Solavetskoy, in the White Sea.]

[3] [See Fletcher, p. 33.]

Symion, the emperor's sonn of Cazan;[1] resigned his stiell and lent him his crown; transfers all authorite therunto incident; crowns him, but with noe solempnitie nor consent of peers; causeth his subjects to adress themselves and their affares, peticions and sutes, to him; and in his name all privaleges, charters, instruments and writings, to be called in, and new to be published in his name and under his seall. They plead in all courts of justice in his name; quoyns mony, receaves customs, and casuall fines and certan reveynews, for the maintenance of his howse, officers and servants; ys lyable to all depts and matters concerninge his office of treasurie. He setts in majestie; the old Emperor Ivan coms and prostrats himself. Causeth his metrapolletts, bishops, priors, noblemen and officers, to do the like, and all ambassadors to resortt before him, which some refused. Was married unto the daughter of Knez Ivan Fedorwich Misthislovske, prince of the bloud royall. These things beinge thus contraverted and chainged, the old Emperor would take noe noatice of any depts owinge in his tyme; lettres pattents, privaleges to towns and monesteries all void. His clargie, nobillite and comons, must now peticion Ivan Vazilewich that he would be pleased to take the crown and goverment upon him againe, upon many condicions and athenticall instruments confirmed by act of Parliament in a verie solemn new inauguration. He was contented; at which infinite guifts and presents wear of all men of any worthe sought owt for to give unto him, amountinge and valued to be a great treasur. He was freed of all old depts and former charge whatsoever. To tedious to recite any more of this tragedie. But that the device of his own head might have sett him clear beside the saddell, yf it had continewed but a littell longer, yt is happie he is become invested again *in statu quo prius*. Regrants privaleges, jurisdictions, charters to towns, monestaries, and noblemen and merchants, upon

[1] [See Fletcher, p. 56.]

new composicion; for which great soms and fines wear obteyned; sends an army of Tartors, governed by his own captaines, to reconquier, as he terms it, the towns in Livonia, which kinge Stephanous had lately taken from him; propounded a mariage to duke Magnus[1] with his brothers daughter, Knez Andrew; sends for his said brother owt of his province of Vaga; had him in jelousy; himself livinge so tiranicallie and in the hatred of his subiects, the other, Knez Andrea, had gotten their harty affections, which he well perceaved. When he came to his presence, he laied himself prostrate to his foate; he toke him up and kissed him. "O cruell brother," with tears, saies the storie, "this is a Judas kiss; thow hast sent for me to noe good end; take thy fill;" and so parted for that tyme. Died the next daie; was buried in Micholsca crest, in the Mosco, solemly. This mariage must goe forward, havinge some relacion to forren ayed. Hartique[2] Magnus was eldest sonn to Christianus, duke of Holst [Holstein]; boren before he was elected kinge of Denmarcke; this kinge Fredericke bowren [born] after: betwen whom grew such hatred and dissencion, as he was inforced to exchainge with him for the dukdom of Holst an iland called Osell, in Livonia, his right in Riga and Reavell, kinge John of Swethia competitor therof; also many other townes and castells in Livonia, which the Emperor of Russia had wonne and spoilled from them bothe. He maks upe the match and maries his neece, Llona, to Hartique Magnus; gives him in dower with her

[1] [Magnus Duke of Holstein, brother of Frederic King of Denmark, was allured by the specious offers of the Czar Ivan to become a tool of his political schemes, and in the year 1570 was betrothed to Euphemia, daughter to Prince Vladimir Andreievitch, Ivan's cousin. The marriage was prevented by the death of the princess; but her place was supplied by her sister Maria, to whom Magnus was united in April, 1573.]

[2] [For the German *Hertzog*.]

all his interest, towns, castells and posessions, in Livonia, 'doth' establish him therin; stiells and calls him Corcell Magnus, which is King Magnus; gives him a houndred good hors, wæll furnished, two houndred thowsand rubles, which is 600,000 dollers in mony, gold and silver vessell, plate and jewells, and rich aparell; gratifies and gives liberall giffts to all followers and servants; conducts and sends, with many 'of' his nobles and ladies with two thowsand hors, the said Kinge and Quene, whoe saw them safflye settled and seated in their estats in that his great town of Dorpe, in Livonia.

I fear I shall fill my discourse with to much of this naracion if I be larger, 'I' will therfore leave the rest for his propper place herafter, and goe onward with the storie of the Emperor's liff. Instead of the alliance and amitie he aymed at of the k[ing] of Denmarcke and k[ing] of Swethia, warrs followes, both of them puttinge him to distress, and the k[ing] of Poland also, whoe gott from him the Narve and besieged Plæsco, two of the chieffest towns he had of trafficque in those parts. The Dane and Swethan inchroacheth upon his parte, being all three competitors in certaine territories upon the northwern coasts, Wardhowse, Colla, Sollavetsca, Varsagae, etc. Puts him from his customs and trafficque, and offers to trowble and deny the English merchants also in their passage for fishinge upon those coasts, and tradinge with him at St. Nicholas and Colmogor.

The emperor Ivan Vazilewich sends for all his nobles and gentilmens fayrest daughters, maidens, thorow out his kyngdoms, and choiseth owt amonge them a wiff for his eldest son, Charwich Ivan. Her name was Natacia, daughter to Ivan Sheremiten, a viovode of a good familley.[1] Great feastings and trumps was at the solempnicinge of this mariage,

[1] [The name of the damsel selected by Ivan for the Czarowitch's bride, at the time of his own marriage with Marfa Sabakina, was Eudoxia Bogdanovna Saburovna. Her father was of obscure station.]

though worth the relatinge, yet not so pertinent to the discourse in hand.

This Emperor lived in great danger and fear of treasons and his makinge awaye, which he daily discovered; and spent much tyme in the examinacion, torteringe, execution and putting to death, such noble captains and officers that wear found practizers against him. Knez Ivan Curaken beinge found dronck, as was pretended, in Wendon, a fast town in Livonia, when K[ing] Stephanous besiged it, beinge viavode therof, was stripped naked, laied in a cartt, whipped thorow the marcket with six whips of wyer, which cutt 'his' backe, belly, and bowells to death. Another, as I remember, 'cald' Ivan Obrossimove, a master of his hors, was hanged on a gibbett naked by the heels 'heyre of his head'; the skinne and flesh of his body from topp to toe cutt of, and minst with knives into small gobbetts, by fower pallacnicks; the one, wearied with his longe carvinge, thrust his kniff somwhatt farr into his bowells, the sonner to dispatch him, was presentlye had to another place of execution and that hand cutt of; 'which being' not well seard, 'he' died the next daye. Many other wear knocked in the heads, cast into the pools and lakes near Slobida, their flæsh and carcasses fead upon by such huge overgrowen pieks, carps, and other fishes, so fatt as any other 'anything but fatt' could hardly be deserned upon them. That was the valey compared to Gehenna or Tophett, wher the fathles Egipcians did sacræfice their children to the hiddeus divills. Knez Borris Telupa, a great favorett of that tyme, 'being' discovered to be a treason worcker 'traytor' against the emperor, and confederatt with the discontented nobillitie, was drawen upon a longe sharpe made stake, soped to enter 'so made as that it was thrust into' his fundament thorrow his bodye, which came owt at his næck; upon which he languished in horable paine for fiften howres alive, and spake unto his mother, the Duches, brought to behold that wofull sight. And she, a goodly matronlye

weoman, upon like displeasure, geaven to 100 gunners, whoe defiled her to deathe one after the other; her bodye, swollen and lieinge naked in the place, comanded his hunstsmen to bringe their hongrie hounds to eat and devouer her flesh and bones, dragged everiewher; 'the Emperour at that sight saying', "such as I favour I have honored, and such as be treytors will I have thus done unto." The frends of the Dukes fortuns and servants of his favours lamentablie mourninge at this disaster and sudden chainge. I could innumerat many and much more that have felt the like severite and crueltie of this emperors heavy hand of displeasur, but I forbare to trouble the modest eyrs and Christian pacience of such as shall read it.

This Emperors delight, hands and hart being thus imbrued in bloud, makinge his chieff exercise to device and put in execucion new torments, tortors and deaths, upon such as he toke displeasur against and had in most jelousye, those especiallie of his nobillitie of best creditt and most beloved of his subiects, he countenancinge the most desperatt captaines, souldiers and deceyed sortt, to offront them and breed fection; wherby indeed their grew such fæctions and jelousy, as they durst not trust one another to ruinat and displace him, as they wear willinge to doe; all which he perceaved, and knew that his estate and case for saffetie grew everie daye more desperat and in dainger than other, and, trowbled much how to shun and escape the same, was verie inquisitive with one Elizious Bomelius, as you have hærd, sometymes a cosninge impostur, Doctor of phizicke in England, a rare matimatician 'magicion', and of others, what years Quen Elizabeth was of; what likely of success yer might be, if he should be a shuter unto her for himself.[1] And though he was much dishartned,

[1] [It is believed that Anthony Jenkinson was, in the year 1567, intrusted by Ivan with secret orders to negotiate a marriage with Queen Elizabeth. See Hamel, p. 179 *et seq.*]

not only for that he had two wiffes livinge, and that many Kings and great princis that had ben shuters to her majesty and could not prevalle, yet he magnified himself, his person, his wisdome, greatnes and riches, above all other princes; would give the asaye, and presently puts that Emporis, his last wiff, into a nunrie, to live ther as dead to the world. And, as you have formerly read, having it in his thoughts longe beforr to make England, in case of extremitie, his saffest refuge;[1] built and prepared many goodlie barcks, large bargies or boats at Vologda, and drawen and brought his most richest treasur thether to be imbarqued in the same, to pass down the river Dwyna, and so into England by the English shipps, upon a sudden, leavinge his eldest sonn, Charrewich Ivan, to govern and pacifie his so troubled estate. For that purpose, he did devis to raise a new treasur to leave unto him, the better to establish his strength as he thought after him, would now put in prectice that he had often in purpose; called for the principall priors, abbetts, archiemanders and egomens of the abliest, richest and chief monasteries and religious houses of his kingdom, which wear verie many, and told them—"that which he was to saye was best knowen to themselves; he had spent the most part of his tyme, witts, vigor and youth, in warfaring for their wælth and saffetie, preservacion and defence of his kyngdoms and people; what daingers and trowbles he had past was not unknowen unto them, above many others. They, apart to home [whom] he makes his moen, have only reaped the bennifitt therof. By which his treasurs have ben exhausted, and theirs increased; their saffties, peace and tranquillite preserved, and his lessened and

[1] [The idea of a retreat to England was entertained by Ivan as early as the year 1567. In the year 1569 he despatched an ambassador, Andrea Ssavin, to Queen Elizabeth to make known his intention; and the Queen, in a letter in answer to his application, promised him a cordial reception, with freedom in the exercise of his religion. See Karamsin, vol. ix, pp. 168, 620.]

daylie indaingered by forren enymies and prectices, bothe at home and abroad; which [he] was verie sencable [sensible] they wear to [too] well acquainted with. How could he or they any longer subsist without their essencial asistance? Their willingnes must be the towch-stone and triall of their fidellitie, as well as their contemplacions, which proved of no force. Their pretended praiers prevailed not; whether for their iniquities, his sines and peoples, or both, he leaves to the devine knowledge. The utillitie of their holly thoughts and actions must now be the suply owt of their infinite aboundance; yea the urgent necessitie and misserable estate both of hyme and people doth now requier their devocion; the soulls of their own patrons and donors, saints and hollie worckers of wonders, for redempcion of their soulls and sines, comands it. Prepare therefore your thoughts with holly resolucions, without sophisticall or excercisms of refusall."

A hie and provinciall convocation was called in the great consistarie of the Holly Ghost; the oath of sovoraintie was ministered in the cittie of Musco, some fearinge he did ayem [aim] at all; and, after longe debate, the particulars of their alligacions and reasons verie profoundly sett down, as apeareth in the originall, and prepared for the King's audience. The Emperor had fals spies that brought him intelligence of all. He forced delaies of excuse; in the mean he thonders owt his thrononicall threats to their ears, conveyed by his secreat instigators; calls fortie of the most capitall and prægmaticall priors and preletts; tells them in this substance to long to particularice:—"Wee understand of your consultacions and resolucions: you ar the principall of your pervers partisons. The mield relacion of the eyll [ill] estat and misserie of my people, and eyll success of my affaires, hath nothinge moved nor mollified your compassion. What shall we render for your reward? The nobillitie and people crie owt with their complaints, that you have

gotten, wherwith you do mainteyne your herarchie, all the treasur of the land, by tradinge in all kynde of merchandizes, chafferinge and takinge the benifett of all other men's travells; havinge privaleges to pay no customs to our crown nor charge of warrs; and, by terrifienge of the nobliest, abliest and best sortt of owr subjects their dienge consciences, have gotten the third part, by due computacion, of the towns, rialties and villages of this kingdom into your posessions, by your wicherie and inchantments and sosorie. You by and sell the soulls of our peple. You live a most idell liff in all pleasur and delacie: commiitt most horrable sines,. extorcion, briberye and excess usarie. You abound in all the bloudy and crienge sines, opression, gluttony, idelnes and sodometrie, and worss, if worss, with beasts. Maibe [may be] your prayers availl not neither for me nor my people. Wee have much to aunswer before God to suffer you to live, and so many more woorthy to dy for you; God forgive my partakershipe with you. Did not the Pope of late, by the ernest contemplacion of his nunciat, perswaid to have the supremacie over you, and to dispose of all your places, preheminences, and reveyneis? Hath not the Greake Church often tymes solicited us for the chainge of your metropolliten sea, by the mediacion of the patriarck of Alexandria? Yea, and as often have I ben moved for your dissolucion, to the reperacion and recstablishinge of thowsands of my aunchient and porest nobillitie, from whose aunchcestors most of your revenneys came, and to whome yt most justly belongs, that have leaft and spent their honnors, liffs and livings for your saffties and inrichments, and my rich people and subjects impoverished through your rapine and divlish illucions, and by of the contrarie a florishinge comonwælth would be established and susteyned; a faire example by that valourous kinge Henry the 8th of England; your revenues beinge much more beside your standinge treasurie then your prodigall and luxurious mainteynance can expend. By which

means my nobillie and servicable subjects are deceyed and our treasur so exhasted, that wee ar inforced by the secreat inspiracion of the soulls and holly saints, the holly worckers of wonders, whom you proffes and hold that infinite treasur, not your's, that lies as a dead tallant in your custodies, put to noe religious use; in their names and all the soulls of the donors and benifæctors therof, I conjure and comaund that by such a daye (least then you all be, through the plage and just punishment of God, devored by wild beast of the forrest, who atend the execucion of your judgment with a more sudden and fearfull death then befell the falshod of Annanias and Saphiras deniall) you bringe us a faithfull and true inventorie, what treasur and yearly reveynews everie of your howses have in their possesions. Necessitie will permitt noe delay nor excuse. By which tyme we will call a parliament or counsaill royall of all our princis and nobells, metrapoletts, bishops, priors, archiemanders and egumens, to be not only judges in the trueth of their souls, what urgent necessitie and utillitie ther is at this present for a mass of treasur to be imploied for defence of our realm; the kinge and princis of Pollond and Littuania, the kinge of Swethia and the kinge of Denmarcke, all combindinge, and our rebells confederatinge with that mighte power prepared by the Crime; but also to be ear and eye witnesses of the discharge of our dutie to God and his angells, to incite you in their name and his pore distressed peopl's, for whose necessities, redempcion and preservacion of you all, wee ar thus inforced so ernestly to mediat and implore, as it wear, their so misserable estates, which lies in your hands and powers yet in tyme to remedie and relive."

I am the larger, because the matter is inforced, as you perceave, with such great effacie, as to heer the sequall will countervall your pacienc in readinge. The chieff bishops, priors and abbotts, assembled and disembled often tymes together, much perplexed and devided, seking and

devisinge with the discontented nobillitie how to turn head and make a warr of resistance: but there wanted such a head or gennerall that had currage sufficient to guide or lead such an army as could incounter his puisant power, they altogether unprovided both of horss and arms. The Emperor toke oportunitie and advantage of this prectice and made good use therof. Proclaymes the heads of all those housses to be treytors. To make them more haetfull, sommoned, naye, sent for 20 of the principallest; chargeth them with odious and horrable criems and træchories, upon such prægnant and aparant prouffs as was manifestly knowen and published to be true, exclamed upon and condempned of all sorts of people in generall. Now com wee to the merrie tragedie to requit your pacience all this whill. The Emperowr comands his great bares, wild, fears [fierce] and hongrie, to be brought owt of their darcke caves and cages, kept of purpose for such his delights and pastimes, at Slobida Velica, upon St. Izaie's daie, in a spacious place high walled. About seaven of those principall rebellious bigg fatt friers were brought forthe, one after another, with his cross and beads in his hands, and, through the Emperowr's great favour, a bore spare [spear] of five foate in length in the other hand for his defence, and a wild bear was lett lose, rainginge and roaringe up against the walls with open mouth, sentinge the frier by his fatt garments, made more mad with the crie and shoutinge of the people, runs fearsly at him, catches and crushes his head, bodie, bowells, leggs and arms, as a cate doth a mous, tears his weeds in peces till he came to his flæsh, bloud and bones, and so devours his first frier for his prey. The bear also shote and kylled with peces by the gonners pell meall. And so another frier and a fresh bare was singly hand to hand brought forthe, till they wear all seaven devoured in manner as the first was: savinge one frier, more conninge then the rest, besturred his borre spare so nymbly, settinge the end therof in the

grownd, guidinge it to the breast of the bare, that rann himself thorow upon it, and yet not escaped devouringe after the bare was hurtt, both dienge in the place. This frier was cannoniced for a valiant sainte by the rest of his living brothers of Troyetts monesterie. This pastime was not for the tyme so pleasinge unto the Emperor and other beholders thereof, as terrible and displeasinge to all the rablment and consistorie of friers and monckes, that wear convocated and so combinded togethcr as you have heard; wherof seaven more wear promised to ba burned, etc. The metrapollits, bishops, moncks and friers, of all howses that had offices and charge, resorted with peticions and their prostracions to pacifie and stey the Emperor's farther displeasur and furie; wear not only contented to suffer and alow his ghostly father to absolve him, but also to acknowledge those detestable friers, that had comitted and perpetrated such detestable crimes and offencis, as was manifestly proved against them, had condignly suffered for their wicked deserts, hoping it would not only be an example but an amendament to all other that professed such holly ordors of worldly sequestracion. The said metrapolletts, bishops, priors, archiemanders and egomens, heads, treasorors and all other officers of all the chieff monsterous [monasteries] and nuneris and religious howses, did, in the names of the wholle, for themselves, and souls of their holly saints, founders, and worckers of holly wonders, of whom they held their lives and beinge, togeather with his Emperiall, most sacred and most gracious comissaracion and permission (for whome and his good success they all powred owt unto the holly Trinitie their devoute vowes and praiers), they presented unto his Emperiall majesty, and prostrated before his throne of mercie, a true and a perfett inventorie of all the treasur, moneys, towns and lands, and other reveynues, that doe particulerly belonge to everie particular hollie soull and saint that did indow and comend the same unto their custodie and ever-

lastinge kepinge successively, for the mainteynance of those holly semynaries and sanctuaries, hopinge and assuredly belivinge his sacread soull, in comemoracion of all ages, will not suffer perpetracion or violacion of those things in his age, which must pass awaye with the accounts therof before the Trinitie, as those have done; if otherwise mynded, that it would please him to geave them an athenticall discharge, to publish to all posterities to come.[1]

I have with my best skill translated this much *verbatum (sic)* owt of the origenall. Ther inchantments prevented dissolucion, but not prevailled against the Emperors ressolute demand of 300 thowsand marcks sterlinge; which he by the means of this conjuracion obteyned, besides many precints, towns, villages, lands and rialties, at least as much more worthe to dispose of, though with great gruge and dislike, yet to the pacificacion of many his disconted nobles; raising and inabling therby most of his trusties, captaines and servitors, the better to serve his turn in all his designes. This practice and pollicie of his, though condemned and much dislyte of by some, yet recconed the most comendable tiranie that ever he used of other som and least daingerous.

Well, this turn beinge served to raise a standinge treasur for his sonn without deminishinge any part of his owne, he hathe still an eye and aiem to England. His infinit treasur and mynde is prepared; but neither his ambassador, Andrew Saphine, did discharge the trust reposed in his deliverye of his mynde, darckly expressed by word of mouth, which he durst not comitt to paper, as it seems; neither did Mr. Jinckenson nor Mr. Thomas Randoll, in their particuler negociacions, so thorowly understand, move or break the matter, as he expected. So that he himself kept it not so secreat but that his eldest sonn, Chariwich Ivan, and their favoretts and nobles, toke noatice of it. Which the

[1] [The proceedings of the council of the lergy held in Moscow in 1580 seem to be here referred to.]

Emperor perceavinge, and to putt owt all jealousye therof in their minds, maried againe the fifft wiff, the daughter of Feodor Nagaie,[1] a verie bewtefull yonge mayden, of a noble howse and great familly; by home he had a third sonn, called Demetrie Iavanowich: spent now his tyme still in pacifienge his discontented nobles and people; kept two armies afoat and yet at but small charge; for his princis and nobles went most upon their own charge, and gentilmen and comon synnoboarskes had certaine porcions of lande, corn and mony alowed them yearly, and this ishued owt of certeyn revenues put apart for that purpose,[2] and eschets, robberis and customs, pencions duly paid them whether they goe to warr or noe, without deminucion of any his crown revenues or great standinge treasur. The on army consistinge most of Tartors, which he imploied against the kinge and princis of Polland and Swethia, by whome he was now invironed, for the country of Liolande, which he had so ranzact and shewed so much crueltie in conqueringe it before: the other army consistinge comonly of 100 thowsand horss, most of his own naturall subjects, saving some few Pollaks, Swethians, Duch and Scotts, imploied against his great enimye the Crim Tartor, which comonly doth not last above three monneths, May, June and July, everie year. He lost most part of all the towns he had conquered in Liffland, regained by that most valurous king Stephanus Batur; but the Emperor had flezed and caried awaye all the riches and principall people before; whose crueltie and tirranie used ther is most lamentably sett forth in the Livonian historie. The goodliest country, flowinge with milke and honny and all other comonwealth commodits, nothinge wantinge, and the farest weomen and best condicioned people to converss with in the world, but much geaven to pried, luxurie and idellnes and

[1] [Ivan's marriage with Maria, daughter of Fedor Nagoi, his seventh wife, took place in the year 1580.]

[2] [See Fletcher, p. 70.]

pleasur; for which sines God hath so plaged and routed owt that nacion, that infinite nombers ar caried captives and sold for slaves into Percia, Tartaria, Turckie and the farthest part of the Indies. Yt was my fortune, by speciall favor, to by and redeme divers, both men, weomen and children, of those captived peoplé, for small soms of mony, some merchants of good quallite, and gott leave to convey and send them, some into Liefland, som to Hamborow and Lubecke. One the other side, king John of Swethia, by his generall, Lorent Forusbæck, and Pontus,[1] a French captaine, besiged the Narve both by sea and land, and toke it and the strong castell also of Ivana Gorrord, his best-mariten town of trafficque; noe such crueltie shewed by them. The Emperors souldiers and army, farr greater in nomber, ranged farr into the Swethians country, and did much spoill and rapine: brought many captives awaye to remote places in his land, Liefflanders, French, Scotts, Dutchmen and some English. The Emperower seatlinge and seatinge a great many of them in the cittie of Musquo, to inhabitt by themselves without the cittie; and by my mediacion and means, beinge then conversant and famillier in the court, well knowen and respected of the best favorets and officers of that tyme, I procured libertię to buyld them a churche, and contrubetted well therunto; gott unto them a learned preachinge.minister, and devine service and metinge of the congregacion everie saboth daye, but after their Lutheren profession; grew in shortt tyme in favour and famillier, and in good like, of the Russ people, livinge civillie but in dollfull and mourninge manner for ther eyvill loss of goods, frends and countrye. At which tyme, emong other nacions, there wear fower score and five pore Scotts souldiers leaft of 700 sent from Stockhollme, and three Englishmen in their company, brought amonge other captives, in most miserable

[1] [George Fahrensbach and Pont de la Gardie. Narva and Ivan-Gorod were taken by the Swedes in the year 1581.]

manner, pittious to behold. I laboured and imploied my best indevors and creditt not only to succor them, but with my purss and paines and means gott them to be well placed at Bulvan, near the Musquo; and altho' the Emperowr was much inflamed with fury and wrath against them, torteringe and puttinge many of those Swethen souldiers to death, most lamentabylie to behold, I procured the Emperower to be told of the difference betwen those Scottsmen, now his captives, and the Swethians, Pollonians and Livonians, his enymies. They wear a nacion strangers, remote, a venturous and warlicke people, readie to serve any Christian prince for maintenance and paye; as they would apear and prove, if it pleased his majestie to imploie and spare them such mayntenance, now owt of hart and cloths and arms, as they may shew themselves and valure against his mortall enemy the Cryme Tartor. Yt seems some use was made of this advice, for shorttly the best souldiers and men-at-arms of these straingers wear spared and putt apart, and captaines of each nacion apointed to govern the rest; Jeamy Lingett for the Scottish men, a villiant honnest man. Mony, cloths, and dayely alowance for meat and drincke, was geaven them, horss, hey and oatz; swords, peece and pistolls, wear they armed with. Pore snakes afore, loke nowe chearfully. Twelve hundred of them did better service against the Tartor then 12 thowsand Russes, with their shortte bowe and arowes. The Crim, not knowinge then the use of peece and pistolls, stroken dead of their horses with shott they sawe not, cried:—"Awaye with those new divells that com with their thunderinge puffs;" wherat the Emperor made good sportt. Then had thei pencions and lands alowed them to live upon; maried and matchd with the Livonian faire weomen; increased into famillies, and live in favour of the prince and people. O! how glad was I that the Emperowr toke noe noatice of those fewe Englishmen taken captive emonge them! An oportune quarrell, to my liff, that was so

well knowen and conversant in their court; but especiallie a fitt prey for the Emperor to seise upon the English merchants goods, havinge then a stocke in company for at least 100 thowsand marckes sterlinge in his country. For, but a littell before, the kinge had sold to one Thomas Glover, a chieff agent for that company, a wiff bowren of a noble howse in Polland, Basmanovey, taken captive at Pollotzcoe, for tenn thowsand Hongers ducketts in gold; and yet shorttly after, fallinge into som displeasur, robbed him of 16 thowsand pounds more in cloth, silke, wax, furrs and other merchandizes, and sent him and his deare wiff emptie owt of his land.[1] But lettinge many other such acts of his pas, let us return to our more propper discourse.

The Emperowr expectinge some return of his letters owt of England, and news by Daniell Silvester, a thinge thought upon, that God would make an example of. He arived with the Quens letters at St. Nicholas; past up to Collmogorod; where, preparringe and makinge cloths fitt for his present postinge up to the Emperor with those letters and message from the Quen, the tailor saienge one [essaying on] a newe yeolow satten jackett or jepone in an upper rome of his lodginge in the English howse, and the tailor gone scars [scarce] down the stears, a thunderbolt came and stroeke him dead, pearsinge down the coller of the inside of his new coate, owt the right side of his bodye, not owtwardly seen. A flash of lightening killed also his boy and dogg by him, burnt his descke, letters, howse, all at instant. Wherat the Emperowr was much amassed when he heard of it, saieng "Gods will be donn!" but raged and was in desperatt case; his enymies besettinge and besiegginge three partes of his coun-

[1] [Thomas Glover went to Russia as a servant of the Muscovy Company; but subsequently joined with others in carrying on an independent trade. As early as 1567, Queen Elizabeth complained to the Czar of this conduct of Glover and his associates, and that they had married Polish wives. Glover was banished from Russia in 1573. See Hamel, pp. 186, 191, 221.]

trye, the Poll, Sweathen and the Crime; King Stephanus Batur threatninge he would vissett him at his great cittie Musquo shorttly. He made preperacion accordingly, only douptinge of som want of powder, salt-peter, lead and brimston, and knew not howe to be furnished therof, the Narve shutt up, but owt of England. The difficult was howe he should convey and send his letters to the Quen, his countries invironed and passages shutt up. Sent for me, and told me he had a message of honnor, weight and secræcie, to imploie me in, to the Quens Majesty of England, perceavinge I had ateyned to the familliar phrase of his language, the Pollishe and Dutch tongs. Questioned with me of divers things; liked my readie aunswers; asked me if I had seen his great vessells and barcks built and prepared at Vologda. I told him I had. "What traitor hath shewed them you?" —"The fame of them was such, and people flockinge to see them upon a festivall daye, I ventured with thowsandes more to behold the curious bewty, largnes and streinge fashion of them."—"Whie, what meane you by those words, streinge fashion?"—"For that the portrature of lyons, draggons, eagls, oliphonts and unicorns, wear so lievlie made and so richly sett forth with gold, silver and curious coullers of paintinge, etc."—"A craftie youthe, comendes his own countrimens artificerie," said the Emperor to his favorett standinge by. "Yt is trew: yt seems you have taken good vew of them: how many of them?"—"Yt pleas your Majesty I sawe but 20."—"You shall see fortie, err longe be, noe worss. I comende you. Noe doupt you can relate as much in forren place, but much more to be admired, if you knewe what inestimable treasur they are inwardly to be bewtified with. Yt is reported your Quen, my sister, hathe the best navie of shipps in the world."—"Yt is true, and please your Majesty."—"Whie have you disembled with me then?"—"For strenght and greatnes to breake and cutt thorow the great occean, turbulent seas."—"How framed

so ?"—" For art, sharpe-kielled, not flatt-bottomed ; so thicke and strong-sided that a cannon shott can scarse pearse thorrow."—"What ells ?"—"Everie shipe caries cannon and fortie brass peces of great ordinance, bulletts, musketts, powder, theyne-shott, piekes, and armor of defence, wild fier worckes, stancions for fights, a thowsand marrinors and men at arms, souldiers, captaines, and officers of all sortts to guide and govern ; 'discipline and dailie devine preyers ;' bear, bread, bieff, fish, bakon, pease, butter, chese, vineger, oatmeall, aqua-vita, wood, water and all other provicion, plentifull, fitt and necessarie for foode and maintenance of men ; ancers, cabells, takells, masts, five or six great salls spread, aunctients, fleggs, costly silk banners displayed with the Quens ensignes and arms, wherat all other kings shipps bend and bowe ; dromes, trompetts, taber, pipe, and other instruments of warlicke designes and defiance to the enymie ; abell to assault and batter the strongest mariten towns and castells that ar ; most tirrable and warrlicke for the aied, conduction and defence, of her Majestys alyance and frends. Most noble Emperor, this is the fraine, form and fashion, of one of the triumphant shipps of her Majesties navie royall."

I had the grace of spirrite and speech in the essenciall deliverie of this, as he often cast his head and eye aside upon the heerers and standers bye, not with any aplaude to myself, nor great admiracion. "How many such hath the Quen as you discribe?"—"Fortie, and please your Majesty." —"It is a good navie royall, as you term it. Yt can transportt 40 thowsand souldiers to a frende." Gave me in charge to prepare myself, and be silent and secreate, and daily to atend till he wear provided and prepared for my dispatch : comanded Elizar Willusgen, his secreat secreatarie, to take from me in writinge the description I made of the Quens Navie Riall ; unto whome I presented also a shipe, curiously made, sett forthe and drawen, with all his saills spread, ban-

nors and insignes displeyed, ordinance gillt, and all things in a warlicke fashion, made and given me by Mr. John Chapell, of Lubecke and London.

At this tyme he was verie much bussyed by searching owt a notable treason in præctice and purposs againt him by Elizius Bomelius, the bishope of Novogored, and som others, discovered by their servants, tortered upon the *pudkie* or racke, letters writen in ciphers, Latten and Græke, sent three manner of wayes to the kings of Polland and Swethia. The bishope upon examinacion confessed all. Bomelius denied all, hopinge to fare the better by means of som his confederatz, as it was thought, favoretts neare about the kinge, whome the Emperor had apointed to atend his sonn Charowich Ivan, to examen the said Bomelius upon the racke; his arms drawen backe disjointed, and his leggs streiched from his middell loynes, his backe and bodie cutt with wyer whipps; confessed much and many things more then was written or willinge the Emperor should knowe. The Emperor sent word they should rost him. Taken from the *pudkie*, and bound to a wooden pool or spitt, his bloudye cut back and body rosted and scorched till they thought noe liff in him, cast into a slead brought thorrow the castell, I preste among many others to see him; cast up his eyes naminge Christ; cast into a dungion and died ther. He lived in great favour and pompe; a skilfull matimatician, a wicked man and præcticer of much mischieff. Most of the nobles wear glad of his dispatch, for he knew much by them. He had conveyed great riches and treasure owt of the country, by way of England, to Wæsell, in Wæstvallia, wher he was bowrn, though brought up in Cambridge. An enymie alwaies to our nation. He had deluded the Emperower, makinge him belive the Quen of England was yonge, and that yt was very feacable for him to marry her; wherof he was now owt of hoep. Yeat heard she had a yong ladie in her court of the bloud ryall, named the Ladye Mary Hastings, of which wee shall speake more

herafter. The bishop of Novogorod was condempned of his treason, and of coyninge monny and sendinge yt and other treasur to the kinge of Polland and Sweathland; of buggarie, of kepinge witches and boyes and beasts, and other horrable criems. All his goods, horsses, mony and treasur, was confiscated to the kinge, which was much; himself to everlastinge imprisonment; lived in a cave with irons one his head and leegs, made and painted picturs and images, combes and saddells, with bread and water. Aleaven of his confederate servants hanged at his pallace gate at Musco, and his weomen witches shamfully dismembred and burnt. He was loth to take noatice of all those that wear confederated in this treason; past it over with admonicions, and declaringe his pleasur and intent to marry his second sonn, Chariwich Feodore, his eldest sonne havinge noe ishue; a great worcke to advise one with his princis and prellats, because of his symplicitie, yet did what pleased himself. But havinge them together, his stomake full of their treasonable purposes, must evaperatt somwhat for revenge. "O disloiell and most trecherous subjects! this daye must now be duble celebrated, the daye of our Saviours Ascension, fresh in memorie of sacrafisinge so many houndred thowsand inocent soulls, presented in read letters to the vewe of the wholl world upon the theoter of your rebellion. Naye, what coall can sufficiently noat to all posterities this mournfull and dismall daye? What lawe of forgetfullnes can wiep owt the remembrance of thy shame, ingratitude and træcharie? What locian can wash awaye the spots of thy pollucion, filthynes and villanye? What fier shall ever consume the memorie of the rebellious terrines and sedicions of this so fatall and abhominable conspiracies," etc. He was three howers inlarginge this theam and stiell, and with great eloquence and bold utterance, after their phras and meothode and imphacie; dartinge still at many present of confederats in this last conspiracie; promising and protestinge to leave

them a naked, a disloiall and distressed people, and a reproach to all the nacions of the world; the enymies at hand to distroye us; God and his 'prodigious' creaturs in the heavens fight against us; the scarcities and famen wittnes yt when no judgments, plagues and punishments, from the same God by him did move noe remorse nor amendement in them. The originall itself saies to long to recite. Littell was aunswered, less done, at this assemblie; but all prostratinge themselves to his sacread and most royall Majesty and mercie, desiringe God to bliss his holly purpose and intencion in this mariag of his noble sonn, prince Charowich Feodor. For whom he choise owt of a great and famous famillie, powerfull and most trusty to the Emperor, a bewtifull yonge ladye named Irinea, daughter to Feodor Ivanowich Goddonova;[1] and after the sollempnatie and great feasting and triumphs, the Emperor dismissed all those nobles and prelatts with good words and more favorable countenance, which was held for a mutuall reconcilliacion and forgivnes of all.

Now the Emperors letters and instructions wear ready, himself and Savelle Frollove, chieff secrætarie of estate, closinge them up in one of the fals sieds of a wodden bottell fild full with aqua-vita, to hang under my horss maine, not worth 3d.; apointed me 400 Hungers ducketts in gold to be sowed in my boots and quilted in som of my worst garments. "I forbare to tell you of some secreats of my pleasur, for fearinge thow passinge thorow my enymies countries now in combustion thow fall into their hands, mai be inforced to discover that I would not have knowen. What thow shalt saye to Quen Elizabeth, my lovinge sister, the bottel thow cariest with the shall declare unto the, when thow comst in saffe place to make it open. In the mean and alwaies be thou trusty and faithfull, and thy reward shalbe

[1] The nuptiall rights hindred, as bewitched.

my goodnes, and grace from me herafter."[1] I fell prostrate, laid my head one his foate, with a heavy hart to be thus exposed to so aparant misserie and not avoidable dainger. A gentilman of good ranck atended me. My slead and horss and 20 servants posted that night 90 miells to Ottver, wher vittualls and fresh hors wear prepared, and so to Novogorod and Plæsco and to Newhowse, 600 miells in thre dayes; where entering into Lieffland my gentilman and servants take their leaves, desiringe som token of my saff conductinge thethir. I bidd them hye them awaye, least then the enymie round about us might take them and hinder my service. The centinell brought me to the statholder or liftenant of the castell; he and his complices strickly examined and searched me; cominge from their enymes country they could not but suspect me. I told them I was glad I was com into their hands owt of the valle of misserie the Muscovetts country, not without some ranzom. The laied their heads together, and in the third daye the apointed me a guide and suffred me with more humanitie to pass. The guard and waiters expected some reward, but I preyed them to spare me; my purss was not answerable to my willingnes. I was three daies a passinge in great dainger by land and frossen mears to Ossell in Liffland, an iland of the king of Denmarckes, larg and spacious; taken by raggamouff souldiers, whoe used me verie ruffly, caried me to Sowen Burge, and so to Orentsburgh [Arensburg], the chieff towne and castell in those parts; brought and delivered me to the statholders lutinant, sicke, aged and crabbed; atended his pleasur, hardly kept as a spie, the snakes crepinge in my lodginge upon bead and board; hens and powltry peckinge at them upon the flower, and in the milk pans, a strainge sight to me; the soyll was such, did no harm; but the fear what should becom of me made me to thincke the less of that.

[1] [The date of this mission of Horsey was the year 1580; and its object the purchase of military stores. See Hamel, p. 236.]

The tyme came I was called before the governors. The chieff was a very grav gentilman in good favour with the kinge; he rulled all: souldiers aboute him with halberds and swords; did examen me; the questions wear many. I was a subiect of the Quen of England, whoe had peace and amitie with all Christian princis, especiallie and most intirely with the Majesty of Denmarcke. Yea, but that would not serve. Wee confederated most with the Muscovett against Christondom. Asked my name and quallitie. I framed him an annswer. Comitted me to the custody whence I was brought; dismist his company which was many; sends his sonn, a propper fine gentilman, for me in privatt; had a letter in his hand; askt my name againe. I told him. "I have receaved sondry letters from my frends, and one of late from a beloved daughter I have, captive with the Emperor in the Musco. She writes of much Christian frendship and favor she hath found at an English gentilmans handes named after your name, that negociats in that court from the Quen of England."—"Ys your daughter called Madelyn van Vxell."—"Yea, indeed, sir," saies he.—"I am the same she writes of. I know her well, and was in good health within this x. daies."—"O! sir, she is my dear and beloved daughter, whom I cannot have ranzomed, though the Majesty of Denmarcke hathe writen in her behalf."—Claps me aboute the næcke, crienge, and his sonn in like manner.—"Gods Angell hath brought your goodnes to me, however you apear here noe better secured, that I might render you my thancks and frendshipe, for your benevolence and favour towards me and myne. This iland hath hærd of your woorthy name and goodnes, and what it cane afford you shall comaund."—Yt seems he was very joifull and I noe less glad of this good happ. Caused me to be brought to a pleasant lodging: his sonn next daye shewed his stabells of great horss, his armour, munición and liberarie; sent for divers of his frends, feasted me; made redie his

letters and passportts with many serimoniall lovinge enterteyments: gave me a fare Garmaine clocke, and his sonn and servants 'to guid me' out of all dainger: comended his daughter, with praier and tears I would continew my goodnes towards 'her,' etc.

I hast one my waye. A domeher [*domherr*] mett me, a man of good account in Liefland. Marvelled I was so meanely atended; knew me, and told his company of my quallitie, which might have done me hurt, and my aqua-vita bottell to, gerded close under my cassocke by daie, and in the night my best pillow under my head. Past all danger as I thought: came to Pilton, a stronge castell upon the Baltique sea, where king Magnus laye, of whom you have heard before. He used me but rufflye, by reason I could not drincke excessivlie with him. He havinge spent and geaven most of his towns, castells, jewells, mony, horss and plate, he had in dower with the Emperors nece, riottsly to his followers and adopted daughters, and not longe after died misserablie, leavinge his Quen and only daughter in very pore estate. And thenceforward thorow the duke of Curelands countrye and duke of Prussia to Qinsborughe, Melvin and Danzicke in Polland, Pomoreina and Mæckellborrow, and so to the emperiall towne of Lubecke, wher I was knowen, and exceadingly well and honnerablie enterteyned. Now I had gotten some better atendance, fower or five servants, Duch and English, taken up at Melvin and Danzicke. Here the burgomeister and lords of the towne sent me by their recorder a present of fish and flesh and wynes of all sorts, with a longe oracion of the favours I had done and shewed to them and theirs. The next daye divers now worthy merchants and their frends came with their thanckes and acknowledgment my means of their redemption; beinge by my only means and purss freed of thier captivitie from the Muscovett: presented me a faire bowll of silver guilt, with a cover; in yt ricks-dollers and Hungers ducketts of gold.

I powred owt the gold and silver returninge that unto them againe, 'more prodigell then wise,' putt upe the cupp, and gave them my thanckes; brought me their town booke, preyed me 'to' write therin my name and place of byrth and aboad, to the end that they and their posterities might honnor my name for ever.

Coming to Hamborowgh, but tenn miells of Lubeck, the Hamburgers having heard of my enterteynment at Lubecke, those that had ben in the same predickerment, and freed also by means of their capetivie, presented me their thanckes and frendly remenbrances. The burgermeister and raetzheren feasted me; and the others gave me a faire tabell cloth of dammask worcke, two dozen of napkins and a longe towell of the same. Thus much more for my own remenbrance then propper to the discourse I have taken in hand, for which I crave pardon, and yet a degression of some dependancie upon the same.

Coming from Hamborow into England, I opened my aqua-vita bottell; toke owt and swetned the Emperors letters and directions, as well as I could; but yet the Quen smelt the savier of the aqua-vita when I delivered them unto her Majesty, declaringe the cause for her hightnes more satisfection. I had access three or fower severall tymes, and som discourse, by means of the lord treasurer and Sir Francis Walsingham, and some honnorable countenanc also of my lord of Lecester; most by Sir Edward Horsey his love and countenance, my especiall noble good frend and kyndsman. The Company tradinge[to] Muscovia gave me good enterteynment and presents: provided, by her Majestys order, all those things which the Emperowr had geaven in his directions, but in noe wise to acquaint them with any other secreat matter: with which and her Majestys dispatch comaunded me to be sworen Esquire of her body, gave me her pictur, and her hand to kiss.

I departed[1] in company of 13 talle shipps; mett with the kinge of Denmarckes near the North Cape; fought with them and put them to the worst. Arived at St Nicholas; posted over Vaga, and came to Slobida Alexandriska, wher I delivered the Quens letters to the Emperor and her pleasur in secreat. Who comended my speed and bussynes done for him; gave me alowanc, and promised his great goodnes for recompence when he came to the cittie of Mosquo. Toke ther all those comodites into his treasorie, copper, lead, powder, salt-peter, brimston, and other thinges, to the valew of 9000 li. and paid them ready monny for all.

His Majesty came to the cittie of Musco; cast his displeasur upon some noble men and governors thereof; sett a parrasite of his, and sent with him 200 gonnors, to robb Mekita Romanowich our next neightbour, brother to the good emporis Nastasia, his first wiff; toke from him all his armor, horss, plate and goodes, to the valew of 40 thowsand poundes; seased his landes, and leaft him and his so pore and neadye as he sent to the English howse the next daye for as much course cotton as made him a gown to cover himself and children withall, and for som other relieff. Sent Symon Nagoie, another of instruments of mischieff, to robb and spoill one Andrew Shalkan a great bribinge officer, who brought his fare yonge wiff owt, repudiated her, cutt and gashed her naked back with his semitarie. Killed his trusty servant Ivan Lottish, and bett owt of his sheens the said Andrew Shalkan five thowsand rubles in monny. At which tyme he did also take displeasur against those Duches or Livonian people whome he had planted and placed with their wieffs and children and famillies without the cittie of Musco, which he brought from the Narva and Dorp merchants, and gentilmen of good account, and gave them libertie of religion and church there. Sett a

[1] [Horsey set out on his return to Russia in the summer of 1851. See Hamel, p. 236.]

thowsand gunors in the night to robb and take the spoill of them; stripped them naked, most barbarously ravished and deflowred both yonge and old weomen without respects, carienge divers of the yongest and fairest maieds to serve their wicked lusts awaye with them; som escaping came to the English howse, where they wear covered, cladd and relived, but in dainger of despleasur in so doinge. Well! God would not leave this crueltie and barbarism unpunished. Not longe after he, the Emperor, fell owt in rage with his eldest sonn Charrowich Ivan for havinge some comisseracion of these distressed pore Christians, and but for comandinge an officer to geave a gentilman a warrant for 5 or 6 post horses, sent in his affares, without the kinges leave, and some other jealousie of greatnes and to [too] good opinion of the people as he thought. Strake him in his furie a box on the ear;[1] whoe toke it so tenderly, fell into a burninge feavour, and died within three daies after. Wherat the Emperor tore his hear and byrd like a madd man, lamentinge and morninge for the loss of his sonn. But the kingdom had the greatest loss, the hope of their comfortt, a wise, mild and most woorthy prince, of heroicall condicion, of comly presence, 23 years of age, beloved and lamented of all men: was buried in Michacla Sweat [Saint] Archangle church, with jewells, precious stones and perrell, putt into his tooem with his corps, woorth 50 thowsand poundes, wætched by twelve citticens everie night by chainge, dedicated unto his saint John and Michall archangell, to kepe bothe bodye and treasur.

Now was the Emperowr more ernest to send into England about this longe conceated match and marriage then ever: adressed one Feother Pissempscoie, a noble, grave, wise and trustie gentilman, to conferr and desier of the Quen the Lady Marye Hastings, daughter to that noble Henry lord Hastings, errell of Huntington, whome he hærd was her kyndsweoman, and of the bloud royall, as he termed it; and

[1] Thrust at him with his piked staff.

that yt would please her Majesty to send som noble ambassodor to treat with him aboute it. His ambassador went forward; toke shippinge at St. Nicholas; arived in England;[1] magnificently receaved; had audience of the Quen; delivered his letters comendatory. Her Majesty caused that lady to be atended one, with divers great ladies and maieds of honnor and yonge noblemen, the nomber of each apointed, to be seen by the said ambassodor in Yorcke Howse garden. She put one a staetly countenance accordinglie. The ambassodor, atended with divers other noblemen and others, was brought before her Ladyship; cast down his countenance; fell prostrate to her feett, rise, ranne backe from her, his face still towards her, she and the rest admiringe at his manner. Said by an interpritor yt did suffice him to behold the angell he hoped should be his masters espouse; comended her angellicall countenance, state and admirable bewty. She after was called by her famillier frends in court the Emporis of Muscovia. Sir William Russell, the errell of Beadfords third sonn, a noble, wise and comly gentilman, was chossen her Majestys ambassodor to the Emperor. But he and his honorable frends better consideringe of it, made his unwillingnes the means for another. Then the company of merchants intreated for Sir Jerom Bowes, only for presence and person, and repented afterwards. He was wæll sett forth most at their charge.

These two ambassodors, the Quens and the Emperors, with leave and letters, wear dispatched from her Majesty; well shipped; arived at St Nicholas in Russia. The Russ ambassodor posted overland; delivered his letters and accounte of his ambassadge to his master the Emperowr, which was joifully receaved. The other, Sir Jerom Bowes, imbarqued by the merchants, passed slolly up the river Dwina, a thowsand miells to Vollogda. The Emperor sent one Michaell Preterpopa [*Protopapa ?*], a pencioner, well atended, to meet

[1] [Pissemsky arrived in England on the 16th of September, 1582.]

him, and to make provicion of vittuall, etc., for his passage, furnished with carts and post-horses for himself, baggage and company. At Yeraslaue another equirrie of the stable mett him, with two faire amblinge geldings, for himself to mount one, when pleased him. Was very honorable receaved at the Musquo by a duke, Knez Ivan Sietzcoye, atended with 300 horss wæll apointed; brought to his lodginge. The kings secreatie, Savella Frollove, sent from the Emperor to congratulate his wælcominge, with many dishes of meat for his supper, promisinge he should be wæll acomodated. The next 'dai' the Emperor sent a noble man, Ignatie Tatishove, to vissite Sir Jerom Bowes, to know howe he did, and what he did, and what he wanted should be suplied, and to tell him he longed to see him, and if he wear not overwearied with his journy he should have his presence and audience upon Satterdaye follinge two daies respite. He aunswered that he hoped he should be able to atend his Majesty.[1]

Accordingly, about ix of the clocke upon that daye, the streets wear filled with people, and a thowsand gonners, cladd in redd, yeallow and blew garments, sett in ranckes by the captaines on horsbacke, with bright peeces, hargubuzes in their handes, from the ambassadors dore to the Emperors pallace. Knez Ivan Sitzcoye, mounted upon a fare jennett, richly cladd and dæckt, having a faire geldinge lead before him, well furnished, sent for the ambassador to mount upon, atended with 300 gentilmen on horsbacke richly furnished also. The ambassador, displeased the dukes horss was better then his, mounted one his own foate-clothe, and with his 30 men livored in stamell cloakes well sett forth, each havinge a pece of his present, being most plate, marched onward to the kings pallace; wher mett him an other duke, and told him the Emperor steyed for him; who aunswered he came

[1] [Sir Jerome Bowes had his reception by the emperor on the 24th of October, 1583.]

as fast as he could. By the waye the people, partly gessinge at his message generallie disliked, cried *Carluke* in mockage at him, which is " craines læggs." The passages, tarras and roms, he was conducted thorow wear all besett with merchants and gentilmen with golden coats. His men enteringe before him with their presents the rome the kinge satt in, they putt at oo' side. The Emperor setts in his majesty, richly cladd, with his three crowns before him ; fower yonge noble men, called *rindeys*, shininge in cloth of silver, with fower septers or bright silver hatchetts, of each side the Emperor; the prince and other his great dukes and nobliest of rancke settinge round aboute him. The Emperower stode up: the ambassodor makes his churcties and speech, delivers the Quens letters. The Emperor receivinge putts of his empperiall capp, asked how his sister Quen Elizabeth did. The ambassodor aunsweringe, satt downe upon a form at o' side the Emperor, covered with a carpett. After som littell tyme of paus and vewe of each other, was dismissed in manner as he came, and his dinner of 200 dishes of meats sent after him by a gentilman of quallitie, which, being delivered and rewarded, leaft Sir Jerom Bowes at his repast.

If I should be so large in the rest, the matter not beinge shortt, would take up to much tyme: some secræt metinges and conferrences and som publecque ther wear. The Kinge feasted; great alowance of all provicions daily made him; all things graunted him ; and yet nothing would please him: made great displeasur. A reconciliacion of accounts betwen the Emperors officers and the company of merchants was made; all their dolliances [*doléances*—grievances] hærd and remedied, their privileges and al things granted, and the Emperor resolved to send a nobleman his ambassodor to the Quen. If Sir Jerom Bowes had knowen the measur and taken the oportunitie of tyme, the Kinge, so inflamed with the effectinge of his desier, would yeld to any thing propounded; yea promis that, if this mariage did take effect

with the Quen's kyndsweoman, her yshue should inherrit the crown. The princis and nobles, especiallie those of nearest alliance to the princis wiff, the famillie of the Godonoves, much greaved and offended at this, found by secreate præctice and plotted a remedye to cross and overthrow all these designes. The Kinge in furie, much distrected and douptinge, caused many witches magicians presently to be sent for owt of the North, wher ther is store, betwen Collonogorod and Lappia. Threscore wear brought post to the Musquo,[1] placed and garded, and dailie dieted and daily vissited and atended one by the Emperors favorett, Bodan Belskoye, who was only trusted by the Emperor to receave and bringe from them their divelinacions or oracles upon the subjects that was geaven them in charge. This favoret was now revolted in fathe to the Kinge, wholly sekinge now and servinge the turns of the sonn-risinge, wearied and tired with the divelsh tiranicall præctices, horrable influencis and wicked devices, of this Helligabelous. The sowthsaiers tell him that the best signes 'constellacions' and strongest plannetts of heaven was against the Emperower, which would produce his end by such a daye; but he durst not to tell him so; he fell in rage, and told them they wear veri likly to be all burnt that daye. The Emperowr began griviously to swell in his coddes, with which he had most horrablie offended above 50 years together, bostinge of thowsand virgens he had deflowred and thowsands of children of his begettinge distroied.

Carried everie daye in his chair into his treasurie. One daye the prince beckoned to me to follow. I stode emonge the rest venturously, and hærd him call for som precious stones and jewells. Told the prince and nobles present

[1] The great blazing star and other prodigious sights seen everie night 7 wekes together over this cittie Mosquo, in anno 85, the yeare King Sebastian and two kings, Fess and Moroca, of Portugall and Barbaro, and this great emperor died.

before and aboute him the vertue of such and such, which I observed, and do pray I maye a littell degress to declare for my own memorie sake.

"The load-stone you all know hath great and hidden vertue, without which the seas that compas the world ar not navigable, nor the bounds nor circle of the earth cannot be knowen. Mahomett, the Percians proffit, his tombe of steell hangs in their Rapatta at Darbent most miracously."—Caused the waiters to bringe a chaine of nedells towched by this load-stone, hanged all one by the other.—"This faire currell [coral] and this faire turcas you see; take in your hand; of his natur arr orient coullers; put them on my hand and arm. I am poisned with disease: you see they shewe their virtue by the chainge of their pure culler into pall: declares my death. Reach owt my staff roiall; an unicorns horn garnished with verie fare diomondes, rubies, saphiers, emeralls and other precious stones that ar rich in vallew; cost 70 thowsand marckes sterlinge of David Gower, from the fowlkers of Ousborghe. Seeke owt for som spiders." Caused his phiziccians, Johannes Lloff, to scrape a circle therof upon the tabell; putt within it one spider and so one other and died, and some other without that ran alive apace from it.—"It is to late, it will not preserve me. Behold these precious stones. This diomond is the orients richest and most precious of all other. I never affected it; yt restreyns furie and luxurie and abstinacie and chasticie; the least parcell of it in powder will poysen a horss geaven to drinck, much more a man." Poynts at the ruby. "O! this is most comfortable to the hart, braine, vigar and memorie of man, clarifies congelled and corrupt bloud."—Then at the emerald.—"The natur of the reyn-bowe; this precious stone is an enemye to uncleannes. Try it: though man and wiff cohabitt in lust together, havinge this stone aboute them, yt will burst at the spendinge of natur. The saphier I greatlie delight in; yt preserves and increaseth courage, joies the hart, pleasinge to all

the vitall sensis, precious and verie soveraigne for the eys, clears the sight, takes awaye bloud shott, and streingthens the mussells and strings therof."—Then takes the onex in hand.—"All these ar Gods wonderfull guifts, secreats in natur, and yet revells [reveals] them to mans use and contemplacion, as frendes to grace and vertue and enymies to vice. I fainte, carie me awaye till an other a tyme."

In the afternone peruseth over his will and yet thinckes not to die: he hath ben bewitched in that place, and often tymes unwiched againe; but now the divell faiells. Comaunds the master of his oppathicke and phizicians to prepare and atend for his solace and bathinge; loeks for the goodnes of the signe; send his favorett to his witches againe to know their calculacions. He coms and tells them the Emperor will burry or burn them all quicke for their fals illucions and lies. The daye is come; he is as hartt holl as ever he was. "Sir, be not so wrathfull. You know the daie is com' and ends with the settinge of the sun."—He hasts him to the Emperor: made great preparacion for the bathe. About the third hower of the daye the Emperor went into it, sollaced himself and made merie with pleasant songs as he useth to doe: came owt about the 7th hower wæll refreshed; brought forth, setts him downe upon his bead; calls Rodovone Bœrken, a gentilman whome he favored, to bringe the chess board. He setts his men;[1] his chieff favorett and Boris Fedorowich Goddonove and others about him. The Emperor in his lose gown, shirtt and lynnen hose, faints and falls backward. Great owt-crie and sturr; one sent for aqua vita, another to the oppatheke for 'marigold and' rose water, and to call 'his gostlie father and' the phizicions. In the mean he was strangled and stark dead. Som shew of hope was made for recoverie to still the owt-crie. The said Bodan Belskoie and Boris Fedorwich, unto whom the Emperor had

[1] All savinge the kinge, which by no means he could not make stand in his place with the rest upon the plain board.

bequeathed, the first of fower other noblemen, and brother to this Emperor Feodor Ivanowich his wiff and Emporis that must now succed, the government of all, goe owt upon the tarras, acompaned so suddenly at hand with so many, and other multitudes of the nobillite his famillier frends, as it was strainge to behold. Cried owt to the captaines and gonnors to kepe their gard stronge and the gaetts shure aboute the pallace, with their peces and matches lighted: the gaetts of the castell presently shutt and wœll watched. I offered myself, men, powder and pistolls, to atend the prince protector: he accepted me amonge his famillie and servants, passinge by with a chearfull countenance upon me 'said:'— "Be faithfull and fear not."

The metrapollits, bishops, and other of the nobillitie, flocked into the castell, holdinge it for a daye of jubilie, for their redempcion: yt was whoe could press first to the book and cross to take oath and vow faith to this new Emperor, Feodor Ivanowich. Yt was admirable what dispatch ther was in six or seaven howers: the treasories sealled up, and new officers added to the old of this famillie. Twelve thowsand gonners, and captaines over them, sett for a garison about the walls of the great cittie of Musquo; a gard geaven me to kepe the English howse; and the ambassodor, Sir Jerom Bowes, whoe trembled and expected howerly nothinge but death and confiscation, his gaetts, windowes and servants shutt up, made spare of the plentie he had before. Boris Fedorowich, now lord protector; three other chieff boaiers, joined assistance with him for the government, Knez Ivan Misthisloskie, Knez Ivan Vazilewich Suskoye and Mekita Romanowich, by the old Emperors will; begane to mannege and dispose of all affares, take inventories of all the treasur everie where, gold, silver and jewelles, a survey of all the offices and bookes of revenews; new treasurors, new counsailers, new officers in all courts, new liefftennants, captaines and garisons, in all places of charge; and in the

casttells, towns and countrees of most importance, wear placed such owt of that famillie as was best to be trusted; and so likwise the attendance aboute the Emporis his sister; by which means he became most wounderfull saff and stronge. Great was his observacion, magnified, beloved, feared, and honnored of all men; and he shewed and behaved himself bothe to the princes and nobillite and to all sorts of the people so affable and lovinge as did procure, draw and increas the same.

I was sent for and asked what the [they] should doe with Sir Jerom Bowes; his bussynes being at ane end. I told the lordes it stode with the honnor of the Kinge and kyngdom to dismis him with all saffetie and humanitie, accordinge to the law of nations; otherwise it would be eyle taken, and perhaps procure such displeasur as would not be soen pacified; all which I submytted to their wiser and better consideracions. They all reviled at him saieng he had deserved death, but that the Emperor and Emporis wear now of a more mercifull dispocicion; they would have sent a message by me to prepare his dispatch, with som other wordes of displeasur, which I praied might be done by some other his Majestys servants.

The lord Boris Fedorowich sent for me at eavening, whom I found plaienge at chess with a prince of the bloud, Knez Ivan Glinscoie. Toke me asied,—"Speake littell in defence of Bowes, I advise you, the lords take it eill. Goe shew yourself and pacifie such and such. Your aunswer was wæll considered of; many perswade revenge of his behavior. Ill do my best to make all wæll, and tell him so from me."—I went to those noblemen accordingly, and did endevor to pacifie them. They told me my partakinge with Sir Jerom Bowes would do me more hurtt then I was aware of; knowinge how things stode and so destastfull to all, especially those chieff officers that had suffered so much for his arrogancie. They could not but love me for aunctient know-

ledge, and the more becaus Boris Federowich did favour me so wæll.—"Therfore medell you littell with that bussynes."—And yet I did not leave to deall effectually underhand for him, for his case was verie daingerous. I intreated he might be sent for and dispatched, beinge coped up and kept close as a prisoner, all allowances taken from him. In the end he was sent for, when other greater affares of state was past over; not atended upon, but with a meane messinger, had into a with-drawinge roem, where many of the lords wear, used him with noe respect, charged him with heynous matter præcticed against the crown and estate, would suffer nor spend tyme for his answer, railed upon, especially by the two Shalkans, great officers, and som others whoe had indured most displeasure and beatings of the Emperor for his complaints and unreasonable and needless findinge faults, from tyme to tyme, so much to disquiett the Kinge and state, as never any ambassodor did; and told him it wear verie requisite, for example of all others that should so much forgett themselves and the place imploied in, to cutt of his læggs and cast his withered carcas into the river, pointinge owt of the windowe under him: but that God hath given us now a more mercifull Emperor that wills noe revenge, whose eyes he should see for Quen Elizabeth sake; but putt of your sword: which he refused, yt was against his orders and oath. They would inforce hym ells; cominge into the presence of so sacrecad and peacable a prince, his sowl beinge cladd with mourninge, not fitted for the sight of arms; and so putt one patience; being singell was brought to the Emperor; who by the mouth of his chauncellor comended him to Quen Elizabeth. Wherwith Sir Jerom Bowes was conveyed to his lodginge: three daies geaven for his departure owt of the cittie of Musco; perhaps he should have a letter sent after him. Sir Jerom Bowes had now littell means, less monny but what was supplied him, glad of so peacable a dismistment, and wished

himself owt of their reach. I made means to gett him 30 carts for his own stuff and servants, and as many post-horses. I asked the lord protectors leave to see and speake with him, and to bringe him owt of the cittie. A meane sinaboarscie was apointed to guard him and to loke narowly to him, whoe used him with small humanitie, and much against the height of his mynde and stoutnes of his hart to indure. I with my servants and good frends acompanied him, well mounted and apointed, owt of the cittie of Musco, otherwise bothe he and others feared some disgrac. I pitched my tent or pavillian x miells of, and, with the provicion I had readye ther of all sortts of wynes and mead, I toke leave of him and his company; praied me to have an eye and ear to his saffetie, doupting of some treacherie towards him upon the waye, and so did I, though I said littell. Wounderfully perplexed with fear, he thancked me for that I had done; he would cause the Quene and my frendes to geave me thanckes, and himself and his frendes should never forgett it: his own hand and letter written at Pereslaue upon the waye confyrmes, and praies the continewance of my care. God bears me witnes I wraught effectually for his saffetie and good. I procured the prince protector to send his letters after him to the Quen, and a tymber of sabelles, a guift from himself. When he came to St. Nicholas and aboard the ship he used exceadinge intemperatt, rash and indiscreat wordes to the gentilman that conducted him thether, cuttinge both sabells and letters in peces, and sent many prowd and oprobrious words of the Emperor and his counsaill. After he was gone, for takinge his part, those great officers of estate, the Shalkans, of frendes became my mortall enimies. I am the larger, because you shall perceave herafter how well Sir Jerom Bowes requited me. The state and goverment of this new comonwælth, so much altered as it was termed new, havinge put one, as it wear, a newe face, so contrarie to the old, everie mân livinge in peace, injoienge and knowinge his

own, good officers placed, justice ministred everie wher. Yet God hath a great plage in store for this people; what shall wee saye? The naturall disposicion of this nacion was so wicked and viell, that if the old Emperowr had not hæld so hard a hand and sever goverment over them, he could never have lived so longe, for their trecherous and treasonable præctices and still discovered. Littell would wee thinck now that this so greate a treasure so leaft would be so soen consumed, and that this kyngdom, Emperower and princis and people, so spedelie ruinated. Eyll gotton soen lost.

This Emperowr, Ivan Vazilewich, reigned above sixty years. He conquered Pollotzco, Smolensco, and many other great towns and castells, 700 miells southweast from the cittie of Musco, into the countries of Littuania, belonginge to the crown of Polland. He conquered also as much and as many towns and castells eastward Livonia, and other dominions of the kinge of Swethia and Pollonia: he conquered the kingdom of Casan and the kingdom of Astracan, and all the regions and great people of the Nagaie and Chercas Tartors, and many other of that kinde, inhabitinge above two thowsand miells of each side that famous river of Volga, sowthward eaven to the Mare Caspian Sea. He freed himself from the servill tribute and homage that he and his predicessors did yearly paie and perform to the great Cithian Emperowr, the Cham or Crim Tartor, not without some yearly charge for defence of their yearly incurcions. He conquered the kingdom of Siberia, and all those ajacent countries northwardes above 1500 miells: so that he hath mightely inlarged his country and kingdoms everie waye; so peopled and inhabited as great trade and trafficque is mainteyned with all nacions for the severall commodities each countrie yeldes; wherby his customs and crown revenews ar not only increased, but those towns and provinces richly mainteyned. So spacious and large is now the dominions of this empeir as it can hardly be hæld within

one regiment, but to be devided againe into severall kingdoms and principallites, and yet under one compleat monarcicall soveraintie, and then to over mightie for all his neighbor princis. This did he ayme at, was in good hope and waye to make it feacable. But the boundles ambicion and wisdom of man semed but follishnes to the preventinge pleasur and power of the Almightie, as the sequæll declareth. This Emperowr reduced the ambiguities and uncertanties of their lawes and pleadinges into a most perspicuous and plain forme of a written lawe, for everie man universall to understand and plead his own cause without any advocat, and to challenge upon a great mult to the crown judgment without delaye. This Emperowr established and published one universall confession of faith, doctrine and discipline of church, consonant to the three symbollic, as they terme it, or orthadoxall creedes, most agreable to the apostollicall order used in the primitive church, alowed in the opinion of the best and aunctiest fathers, Athanacious and others, in thier Nicene, best and most aproved counsalls. He and his aunchestors acknowledginge thier originall and fundamentall lawes of religion of Christian belieff to be grownded upon the Greek church, derivinge their antiquitie from their apostell 'St. Andrew' and patron St. 'Nicolas;' which church, since, by reason of their dissentinge and dissapacion in late ages, have fallen and erred from the essenciall points, both in substance of doctrin and ceremonie.

Whereupon, this Emperower hath aquitted this sea of Musco from that societie, and consequently of the oblacions and sinodalls heretofore contrabuted to the necessitie of that church; and by the hælp of the Trinitie hath inspired the hollow hart of the patriarch Ερεμ[ιας] to resigne over the patriarcship of Constantinople 'or Sio' to the μεττραπολεττανν sea of Musco, to save that charge.[1] The Emperowr utterly denies

[1] [This resignation of his see by Jeremias, Patriarch of Constantinople, took place in January 1589. See Fletcher, p. 105.]

and disclaimes the doctrine of the pope; holds it of all Christian churches to be the most erronus; goes together with his ambicion, both grownded upon invencion, to maintain an herachie never allowed him; marvelinge that any prince Christian will yeld him any supræmacie or seculer authoritie. All which, and largly more, did he cause his metrapollits, archbishops and bishops, archiemanders and egomens, to declare and deliver to his nunciat 'Pater Antonie' Posavinus, the great Jesuit, at the church dore of Prechista, articulated in the cittie of Musko. This Emperowr hath built in his tyme above 40 faire stone churches, richly bedæct and adorned within, and the turrets all gilt with fine pure gold. He hath built above 60 monnasteries and nunries; indowed them with bells and ornaments, and maintenance, to praie for his sowlle.

He built a goodly stepell of hewen stoen in the inner castell of Musco, called *Blaveshina Collicalits*, with 30 great swæt soundinge bells in it, which serves to all those cathedrall and goodly churches standing round about it, ringinge all together every fæstivall daye, which ar many, and verie dolsomlye at everie midnights praiers.

One deed of charitie I maie not omytte, one memorable act, to shutt up his devocion with. In anno 1575 a great famine followed the pestilence of the better sortt of people. The towns, streets and waies swarmed with the rogs, idell beggers and counterfeit crippells; no riddence could be made of them in the time of scarsetie. Proclamacion was made they should resortt to receav the Emperors great almes upon such a day at Slobida. Owt of som thowsands that came, 700 of the most villest and counterfeits wear all knockt in the heads and cast into the great lake, for the fish to receav their doll ther: the rest most febliest wear disperst to monnestaries and hospitalls to be relived. This Emperowr, among many other such like acts, did build in his tyme 155 castells, in all parts of kyngdoms, planted them with ordinance and garrisons. He

built 300 towns in wast places and wildernesses, called yams, of a miell and two in lenght; geave every inhabitant a proporcion of land to kepe so many spedie horsses for his use as occasion requiers. He built a goodly, stronge and spacious stone wall about the Musco, planted and placed ordinance and officers to maintaine his garrisons.

Thus much to conclude with this Emperor Ivan Vasiliwich. He was a goodlie man of person and presence, wæll favored, high forehead, shrill voice; a right Sithian; full of readie wisdom, cruell, bloudye, merciles; his own experience mannaged by direction both his state and comonwælth affares. Was sumptuously intomed in Michall Archangell church, where he, though garded daye and night, remaines a fearfull spectacle to the memorie of such as pass by or heer his name spoken of, [who] ar contented to cross and bless themselves from his resurrection againe, etc.

Ambassadors wear nominated and apointed, such as Boris Federowich best affected to illustrat his greatnes, to be sent abroad to all princes, allies to this empier. But first, preperacion beinge made for the Emperowrs coronacion; which, for that it will take up more rome here then wee can wæll spare, I beinge an eye and ear wittnes therunto, and receavinge much grace and honnor at the same, must referr the relacion therof to Mr. Hackluetts booke of Viages and Dr. Flætchers treatice, with other discourses of the state and government of this commonwælth, procured at my handes longe since;[1] I, amonge others, was nominated and apointed to be sent unto the Quen. The substance of our errants was most alike, to make knowen that, by the providence of God, Theodor Ivanowich was *coroberavated* (their

[1] [Horsey's account of the coronation of Fedor Ivanovitch, which took place on the 10th of June, 1584, was printed by Hakluyt in his "Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries of the English Nation." See ed. London, 1809-1812, vol. i, p. 525. We have reprinted it in an Appendix to the present work.]

term) crowned and seatlead in the emperiall kingdoms and teritories which his father, late Emperor, Ivan Vazillewich, of famous memorie, was possest of. Thought good, owt of the tender care and holly desier he had to peace, to intimat and make knowen unto their emperiall quallities and wisdom how dessirous he was of their allies and brotherly amitie, also who embracinge the same did promis all reciprecall corespondencie, trade and commers, with them and theirs.

With which letters, and commissions to treat of such other matter as fell properly in question for the weall on bothe sides, I was dispatched with extraordinarie grace, terms and titells, especially from the prince protector, Boris Federowich, both in private and in publicque; and, with instructions and comissions aparte.[1] I sett forth wæll apointed and atended, and receaved, guarded and acomodated, in the reputation of an ambassodor wherever I came. My journey was overland from the Musquo, the 20th of August 1585, six hundred miells to Vobsco, and thence to Dorp in Livonia, Perno, Wenden, Liboe, etc., and to Riga, the capitall cittie of that province, wher my comission was to treat with Quen Magnus,[2] the next heir of the emperiall crown of Muscovia; she beinge leaft in great distress and kept upon small alowance, ishuenge owt of the treasurie of the crown of Polland, in the castell of Riga. Could not have access but by the means and leave of the cardinall Ragaville,[3] beinge by chance recident there, a bounsinge princly prellate, lovinge the companye of the Livonian ladies, the farest weomen of the knowen world. Great means I made to speak with her. The cardinall at first shewed his ostere countenance

[1] [See a separate account by Horsey of this mission, and of a second in 1589, printed in the Appendix.]

[2] [Maria, niece of the Czar Ivan Vassiliewitch, and widow of Magnus, king of Livonia. She was prevailed upon by Boris Godonoff to put herself and her daughter, Eudoxia, in his power, and was constrained by him to enter the convent of Troitza.]

[3] [Cardinal Georgius Radzivil, governor of Livonia.]

as a matter of great difficultie; but when we became better aquainted, more merrie and pleasant, and laffed upon me as he past in procession, to thend, as it wear, I should behold his gravitie.

When I was brought to Llona, Quen Magnus, I found her comynge of her daughters head and hear, a proper gerrell of nien years of age. She asked me what my will was. I desired to speake with her apart: began to looke somwhat more streinge upon me; told me she knew me not, and had not many withdrawinge roomes nor atendance. Leaft her daughter with her gentilwoman; a window in the same room; began to putt on a more staetly behavior.—"Madam, I have no longe tyme you see to discourse with you of my message unto your highnes: lett me intreat your princly promis to keep secræt that I shall speake unto you, tending all for the good of you and yours."—Though she used silence yet I went forward. "The Emperowr, Feodor Ivanowich, your brother"—(for so cozen jarmans call each other)—"takes noatice of your necessitie, you and your daughter live in; desiers your return into your native country, to hold your staet and wæell beinge, accordinge to your royall birth and place; and the lord-protector, Borris Fedorowich, doth, with due remembrance of his servic, vowe the performance of the same."—"Sir," says she, "they neither know me nor I them. Your countenance, speach and atier, makes me to belive you more then reason can perswade me." I was interupted, hastened away and somwhat mistrusted by the livetennant. She was as lothe to part as I; began to shedd tears, and so did her daughter and her gentillwoman to see her do so: wished me to make means for access to her againe. The cardinall was told this; sends for me, asketh what meriment it was I made the Quen to lauff at. I told him he was misinformed.—"You know what I mean; have access, but be not to bold." I besought his warrant, and had it: she longed to heer owt

the rest, and so did I to deliver it.—"You see, sir, I am kept as a prisoner and my alowance small, not a thowsand dollors a year."—"You maye remedie that if please you."—"Two speciall doupts trouble me; if I should be of that mynde I have noe means to escape, and hold it a thinge verie difficult, perceavinge the kynge and state purpose to make use of my byrth and bloud, like unto the Egipcian goddis, and knowinge their fashions in Muscovia, I have littell hope to be dealt otherwise with then they use to doe with their Quens widdowes ther, to be shutt up in a hellish cloister, befor which I choiess death."—"Your case differs much from theirs, and tymes have altred that kinde of course; none inforced therunto that hath a child or children in beinge and to educate."—"What assurance have I of that? or know this to be from those you speak of?"—"Your willingnes must make triall of that; the assurance wherof maye make your adventur the more prosperous, when you shall see and be perswaded of the means intended to effect the same without dainger."—"Then must I relie upon God and your Christian secræcie and promis: lett me know your name, and the tyme as near as you can."—"Doubt not, gracious lady, but within two monneths your highnes shall know bothe; by the token I leave one houndred Houngers ducketts in gold, and your grace shall receave fower houndred more this daye seaven weekes or near that tyme."—Her hightnes receaved them thanckfully, and her daughter twenty peces more. I toke my leave, and her hightnes and daughter imbraced my hand in hers for my farwell: and glad I had effected so much.

My servants marveled, and so did the lifftennant of the castell, at my longe stey. He told the cardinall againe, "Tush, suspect him not; you see he is a suinge youth and fine, etc. I wish he had her, so I had the charge she hath cost me."—"So would not the kynge nor crown of Powland for a houndred thousand dollers more."—I presented the

cardinall a faire. golden wraught handkercher and humbly thancked him for his favour.—"I am glad you have spedd so well, sir; when you [we?] meet in Polland we shall reruminat our aquaintance merily."

Passinge owt of the gaetts of the town, a gentilweomanlike maiden, in her heare, delivered me a curious white wraught handkercher, in the corner wherof a littell hoop ringe with rubies of small valew, but told me not from whome. I gest aright, and hied me owt of the cardinalls jurisdiction, thorow Corland, Prusia, Quinsburgh, Melvinge and Danzicke; where I did a littell rëpose, and sent backe one of my servants, a Danzicer bowren, by sea to the Narve, with my letters, handkercher and relacion to the Emperor and Borris Fedorwiche, what I had done, all sowed up in his quilt dublett. He past so speedily and saffely that this Quen and daughter was sent for, stollen awaye very conningly, and posted with thorow Livonia before she was missinge. The lieftenant sent divers horsmen after her, but to late; he putt by his place in displeasur and a more trustier choisen. At my return owt of England, to make an end of this matter, I perceaved she was much estemed of, had her officers, landes and alowance, accordinge to her estate: but not longe after she and her daughter wear disposed of into maieds monnesterie, emonge the rest of thë Quens; wherat she exclaimed:—"Woo be unto the tyme she was betraied and that ever she gave faithe to me;"—but could not be permitted sight of me nor I of her. This pece of service was verie acceptable; wherof I much repent me. From Danzicke I passed thorow Cashubia, Pomerenia, Statten, Mackellburgh, Rostocke (where I escaped miraculously death), came to that famous emperiall town of Lubeck, wher I was exceedingelie well and honnorably entertcyned. The burgermeister and *raettsheren* presented me with their presents of wynes and caekes, and thanckes givinge for my former favors don them. From Hamborow I arived in England; came to the

court at Richmond; shewed myself to the lord treasorer and Sir Francis Walsingham. They brought me to the Quen, whose hightnes receaved the Emperors letters and my speech most graciously, and with great aplaud comended me; was glad she had such a servant ateyned to such knowledge and trust to be imploied in so weightie affears from so great and forren prince. Speakinge to Mr. Vizchamberlen, Sir Thomas Henneag,—"Have you and the harbinger care for his lodginge; tis late, I will speake with you farther tomorrow." Sir Jerom Bowes and his brother, Mr. Rauff Bowes, came to wælcom me with noe small compliments, with some temeritie sounded me. Gave, as he said, great comendacion of my languages, favour and estimacion I had in the Emperors court; all which I belived, for the Quen told me as much. The next daye yt pleased her Majesty to have a great deall of conferrence with me, and somwhat conserninge Sir Jerom Bowes misbehavior; to which I saied littell as yet. The letters comitted to the trust of my translacion: the which I did sparingly for the terms used against Sir Jerom Bowes, which Mr. Secreatorie toke eyll; told me, the Quen would be displeased if she knew of it, whose hightnes bidd me not to fear the face of any. After I had perfeted it, Mr. Secreatorie read the same to the Quen. Her Majesty required to know my comissions, for that, besieds what was conteyned in the Emperors letters, was reffered to word of mouth. I told her hightnes yt was so much as I feared would wearie her Majestys patience, beinge so late.—"Then will I apointe a tyme of purpose to geave you farther audience:" turned her hightnes to the Lords, and said—"I promis you, my lords, these letters shew as honnorable matter as ever wee receaved from any prince, newly come to his crown, to offer and intimatt unto us, that in courtesie and by the lawe of princlie comon right wee should first have offered and done from ourselves."

I was wæll howsed in London, wæl provided and atended

one, much respected, feasted and enterteyned, by the company of Muscovia, Sir Rowland Heyward, Sir George Barns, Mr. customer Smyth, and of many other aldermen and grave merchants. The Quen calls for me at Grenwich; I deliver as much as I was to saye, and so much as pleased her hightnes to inquire of me; said—"We have lost a fare tyme and a great deall of treasur, that her realme might opportunly have ben possessed of."—I spent a good tyme as well in providinge the Emperowrs and lords protectors provicion, accordinge to comission, as also inquiringe of the lerned phizicions of Oxford, Cambridge and London, their opinions and directions conserninge the Emporis Irenia in some difficult matters [for conception and procuration of children]; had been maried seaven years and often [conceaved],[1] with some other mariage matters wherin I was charged with secræcie, which fell owt to be verie daingerous unto me.

Sir Jerom Bowes, upon some displeasur of the Quen towards him, præctices much mallice against me; incencis my lord of Lecester, now regent in the Lowe Countries, from whose Excelencie I had receaved great honor, countenance and particuler letters of grace, and done his lordship service; upon his letters of request sent him rich furs, white garfaucons, white bares and ther provicion, of good value, and paid my frendes asigned for the same; that I should reportt at my tabell such a daye to divers dukes and noblemen, how that he had cast his wiff down a pare of stares, brack her næck, and so became the Quens minion; by which he ment to have broken my næck, and the negociacion I had in hand, never havinge hærd of any such thinge before.[2] The

[1] [The words within brackets are written in Russian characters in the MS. They are deciphered by Hamel, p. 233.]

[2] Yet Lesters Comonwealth mencions such a thing.—*Note by another hand.* [Amy Robsart, Leicester's first wife, died in September 1560, and the sinister reports of the mode of her death alluded to in the text were prevalent soon after.]

errell of Lecester writes to the Quen therof, praies my questioninge and stey. The Quen alters her countenance, swares I should aunswer it; comaundes the lordes of her Majestys counsall to examen the cause. Sir Jerom Bowes offers to prove it by one Finch, a by-hanger of his, whom he said I would have rosted in the Musquo for a spic. Yet the Quen aunswered openly—"I doupt not but Horsey will prove himself an honnest man for all this."—The lord Honsdon, then lord chamberleyne, only, toke Sir Jerom Bowes his part: my lord treasuror, Sir Christopher Hatton, and especially Sir Francis Walsingham, wear stronge and confident in their good opinions of me; many good frendes and allies I had that stucke firmly to me. The court and cittie wear possessed of this heynous matter. Wee wear convented. Sir J. Bowes fained himself sicke: the lordes sent express messengers to bringe him, for so was her Majestys pleasur. He present, the parties accusation was so faint, faultering and fearfull, ever lokinge upon Sir J. Bowes what he should saye to the Lordes, that they all semed displeased. I had fower verie substanciall merchants ready knelinge before them, that wear present at all tymes whiells this Fynch was in the Musco, beinge but tenn dayes, at any tyme with me; avowed and witnessed howe favorablie I dealt with him, and how frendly I dispatched him thenc in their companies, beinge in necessitie and dainger, at my own charge; shewed forth his own letters of thanckes and acknowledgment, never more bounden to any. The lordes willed Sir J. Bowes forthe of the counsaill chamber; bydd Finch declare the trueth; he acknowledges those letters to be of his own writinge, and confessed Sir J. Bowes had layne at him verie often and ernest to mainteyne this accusacion, which he never hærd of before, saienge he was in the waye to crush Mr. Horsey and his ambassage. The lordes committed him to the marshalcies, with waightie irons to be laied upon him; my lord treasurer tellinge him—"Though you wear not rosted,

sirra, yt was pittie you had not ben a littell scorched."—The lord chamberleyne hied him from the lordes to the Quen; Mr. Secrætarie gott an other waye before him, told her Majesty what had paste. She blamed my lord Honsden, whoe laied the fault upon Bowes, whom the lordes told he had discreadited him self more then his worth could repare.—"Lett him, my lordes, that made the fals information smart for it."—The Quen forbadd him her presenc. I have ben tedious, and yet can saye noe less owt of the malignitie of this mans eyll spirrit towards me, that hathe deserved as much as his liff is worth.

When tyme was, my discontentment was perceaved; faire weather was made; and I notwithstandinge, in the interim, with much help of my good frendes, Sir Fra. Walsingham and Sir Georg Barn,[1] etc., had made my provicion of lyons, bulls, doggs, guilt halberds, pistolls, peces, armor, wynes, store of druges of all sorts, organes, virgenalls, musicions, scarletts, perrell chaines, plate of curious makinge and of other costly things of great value, according to my commissions. Takinge my leave of the Quen receaved her hightnes letters to the Emperor and prince protector, and letters pattents for my passage, with many good words and gracious promises, and also remembrances and instructions from the lordes and from the company worthe readinge, with som recompence for favors and services all redy done for them in the Emperors court. I departed well acomodated in company of nien good merchants ships; arived at St. Nicholas; posted up to the Musco,[2] 1,200 miells; came to the lord protector, 'now' prince of the province of Vaga, who receaved me joifully, and after much discourse brought me to the Emperowr a back waye; who semed glad of my return, *pochivated* and made me merrie, and so dismist me for that tyme. The prince protector sends for me the next daie;

[1] Lord Maior of London.

[2] [Horsey reached Moscow on the 2nd of April, 1586.]

tells me of many strainge accidents and alteracions and matters, past since I went thenc, such as I was sorie to heer of, præctices betwen the Emporis mother to Chariwich Demetrius her kynred and som other the princes, joyned with him in comission by the old Emperors will; which he, knowinge now better his own strengtht and power, could not accept for competitors. "You shall heer much; belive littell more then I tell you." One the other side, I hærd much and of many the nobillitie their discontentments; both disemblinge wraught upon the advantage of their intemperances with great causion, providence and pollice, which could produce noe good end to neither. Asked—"When coms your presents and my provicion?" I thought it near at hand.

I was called for before the Emperor and most of his counsaill, settinge in state. With some preamble of speech, illustracion of his titells and magnanimitie of his emperiall monarchie, I delivered over in writinge the account of my imploiment, as other his ambassadors did, and those letters recommended for aunswer to his hightnes from the Magestie of England; which beinge receaved, I was willed to withdrawe. I was asked for such presents as was sent unto his Majesty. I aunswered, they wear such in nature as did requier som longer tyme for transportacion. Comaundment was geaven presently for a gentilman and 50 huntsmen to be sent, and atend with all alowances the speadie bringing up the river Dwina of the same. For that tyme, I had comendacion for the good service done and performance of the Emperors pleasur and comission geaven conserninge Quen Magnus saffe arivall.

Bodan Belskoie, the chieff favorett and mynion to the old Emperor, was now sent to a castell and town remott Cazan in displeasur, as a man feared to be a conspirator and sower of sedicion betwen the nobillitie and this tyme of discontentment. Peter Gollavine, chieff treasorer to the old Emperor, a man of great birth and courage, became bold

and peremptorie against Boris Fedorowich; was likwise sent awaye in displeasur, under the conduction of Ivan Vioacove a favorat to the princ protector; was dispatched of his liff upon the waye. Knez Ivan Vazilewich Suscoie, prime prince of the bloud royall, of great estem, power and comaund, chieff competitor in comission for the goverment, his discontentment and greatnes was much feared: some couller of offence conceaved; the Emperors displeasur cast upon him; was sudenly comaunded to depart the Musco to his own repose; serprised with a corronells guard, and not farr of was smothered in a cottage with wætt hey and stuble sett one fier, lamented of all men. Here was the chieff stomlinge blocke of fear removed away from that howse and famillie of the Goddanoves; yet many more suspected weare also quarreled with, and by degres had the like measur. I was sorie to see in what hatred the prince protector grew in the harts and opinion of most men to whome his cruell disemlacion apeared to grosly. He toke me owt with him one daye at the posteren gaets with small atendance, besides his faulkners, to see his garrfaucons to flie at the cran, hern and wild swan, princly pastime with their hardy hauks, not caringe for spoillinge and killinge them, havinge such infinite chois readie made at hand. A baggerly frier mett him, wished he would hy him hõme spedily; all wear not his frendes that wear cominge to see his pastime. Some 500 horss, yonge noblemen and waiters at court, wear cominge to meet him for honnor, as was said, to atend hyme into the cittie. He ment none should know of his goinge nor follow him: folowed the friers advice; and after a slight faulkon that stoped at a foulle, tother side of the river, he ventered the ford a nearer waye, was at the castell gate before that company could com aboute. I saw him perplexed, and gladd he was saffly com to the pallace, where bishops, dukes and gentilmen and other suters, atended him with their peticions, and could not com near him somtymes in two or three

dayes, he passinge in the entrye more owt of sight towards the Emperors lodgings. I praied him to loke backe, and shew himself upon the tarras: he cast a feers countenance upon me, as though I counsailed him not well, yet bethought himself, went towards them, saluted many and toke their peticions with great aplaude and cric,—"God save Boris Fedorowich his health!"—Told them he would present their peticions to the Emperor.—"Thow most noble Borris Fedorowich art kinge, saye thow the word and it is done." Which words I perceaved disliked him not, for he aymes at the crown.

My presents and all other things wear now com saff to the Musco. The daye apointed, I must now repare and come before the Emperowr againe from her Majesty, acompanied with Peter Peva, a pencioner of good esteme. I was as well mounted as he, atended with twentie men with faire livories and garments after their fashion, best liked of, each of them carrienge one pece or other of my present. Steyed the Kinges pleasur in a withdrawing chamber, untill the Emperowr and Emporis had vewed owt of the pallace windowes the bull-dogs and lions brought by the *birrowd* and his company, which was above five thowsand people that followed the sight of them; a goodly fare white bull, all spotted over with black naturall dappell, his crop or gorg hanging down to his knees before him, guilt fals horns, coller of green vellett studded and redd roep; made kneell down before the Emperowr and Emporis, standes uppe and loeks gasinge and feersly one everie side, apearinge to the people to be some other strainge beast called *bueval;* twelve goodly large mastive dogs[1] lead with twelve men, dæct with rozes, collers, etc., in like fashion; two lyons brought forthe of thier cages (drawen upon sleades) by a littell Tartor boye with a wand in his hand, standinge in awe of noe other. These wear leaft before the pallace to the lokers on.

[1] Grey hounds and bloud hounds.

The Emperowr was sett in his chare of majesty. Now com wee to more serious matter and complements. I was sent for in, my men with their presents put at o' sied.—"Most noble, most mightie and most renouned Emperor Feodor Ivanowich, Emperowr of all Russia, 'Volldemeria,' Musquo, Cazan, Astracan, Otver, Novogorrd Velica, Perm, Vatzca, Sibersca, Condonscoie, Yeraslavsco, Nezna, Emperor, lord and great duke, etc., of many other provinces, Quen Elizabeth, by the grace and mercie of God, Quen of England, France and Irland, and Quen of many other teritoris and principallities, defendoris of the most christian 'catholike' faithe, her most highe most mightie farr and most renowned Majesty doth in all lovinge and sisterly manner salute your emperiall Majesty, here dear and most beloved brother, and hath sent your emperiall Majesty her hightnes letters gratulatorie, wishing unto your emperiall Majesty all perfett hælth and saffitie, that you may govern and reigne in all happines, peace and tranquillitie. Her hightnes comandeth me, her servant and vassall, to saye unto your most excelent Majesty that your late letters sent unto her Majesty ar most thanckfully receaved, and most acceptable unto her Majesty. The contents and intimacion of your brotherly amitie therin contayned, her Emperiall Majesty doth most willingly imbrace, and maketh protestacion and promis inviolablie to hold the like sisterly amitie and corespondencie with your emperiall Majesty, as she hath done hertofore with Ivan Vazilewich, late Emperor, your Majesties father, of most famous and most renowned memorie, to the mutuall comfort and commoditie of both your emperiall realms, loyall and lovinge subjects, most high, most mightie and most renowned Emperor."—And therwith my lowe obeysance sate down at o' sied upon a littell form, covered with a carpett. The Emperor said littell; shewed good countenance. But the chauncelor whispered him in his ear: stode up, putt of his capp, said he was glad

to heer his lovinge sister Quen Elizabeth to be in such good health, and therwith dismist and conducted in manner as I was brought. The particular of the presents delivered in a scedull with the letters. Ther followed me Ivan Shamadanove, a kyndsman of the lord protectors, with 150 dishes of all sorts of meats for my dinner from the Emperor, drinckes, bread and spice, sent by 150 gentilmen thorow the streats to my lodginge. I presented the chieff gentilman a garment cloth of scarlett; *pochivated*, dranck and made merrie, and gave each of the rest a reward.

The next daye divers gentilmen, officers, priests and merchants, my frends and aquaintances, came to congratulate with me, as the manner is, of the Emperors favour; drancke, eat and made merrie, upon the Emperors good chear as longe as it lasted. The protector, Borris Fedorowich, having spent a wholle daye in perusinge the jewells, chaynes, perrell, plate, gitt armour, halberds, pistolls and peces, white and reedd, scarlett velletts, and other curious and costly things provided for him, which he exceadingly wæll liked of; and the Emporis his sister, invited to behold the same, admired especially at the organes and vergenalls, all gilt and enambled, never seinge nor heeringe the like before, woundered and delighted at the lowd and musicall sound therof. Thousands of people resorted and steyed aboutt the pallace to heer the same. My men that plaied upon them much made of and admitted into such presence often wher myself could not com. So wæll liked was all things, and my own pictur also taken awaye, that the protector sent me all the cost therof, which was above 4000 li.; three Percia gennets with rich saddells, furniturs and semitaries, with the master of his horss, Ivan Volcove, to make chois of which I pleased to ride upon; which I did, estemead worth 200 li.; and by one other of his chieff gentilmen, Michaell Cossove, his hightnes sent me three thowsandes poundes of fine silver coine, for a remenbrance and ernest of his farther favour and

love. All which being receaved, I dismist the bringers wæll rewarded. The sighte of these rarieties, bull-doggs, lyons, orgaines, mussicke and other delights, made me continewally to be thought upon, with gold wraught handkerchers, towells, shirts, cannapies, carpetts, dietts and such daintes as the lord protectors and his frendes good will and favour did afford; which was in such bountifull measur as many towns, monnesteris, offices and officers, naturall and strainger merchants, procured by my means fredoms and exemptions of many texacions and imposicions, privaleges and pardons, not without good acknowledgment and recompence. And although the truth herof be more larger sett forthe and mor memorable in their histories, yet not so much pertinent to our discourse of the state of Russia.

The Emperor, I may say the prince protector, beinge now possest of so infinite a treasur and daily increasinge, knew not wæll how to imploie, dispose or make use of it, to illustrate his fame. The kinge of Percia being greatly oprest by the mightie armies and yearly inroeds of the Turcke, who havinge wonn from him all Media, Darbent, Shamakie, Bilbill, Ardoll [Ardabil] and other his most richest, best and frutfull provinces, drivinge him to the Alps, as it wear, or high countries of Percia, Cashan, 'Tauris,' Percipolis, Casbyn, etc., and also invadinge and anoyinge that mayden and unconquered kyngdom of the Georgians, by reason of their cittuacion, Christians invironed in the middest of all those Mahometicall and heathen countries; the[y] bothe shueng and sending unto the Emperowr and prince protector their severall ambassodors for ayed and succeur ;[1] who, not beinge so well able to transportt an army so remote over the *Mare* Caspian Sea, was contented to lend and transferr unto the king of Percia, upon good hostages, 200 thowsand robles marckes sterlinge, for five years *gratis*, and to the kinge of the Georgians 100

[1] [The negotiations alluded to were carried on during the years 1586-1588.]

thowsand marcks sterlinge more upon the pawne and resignacion of the titell of his kingdom, by an authenticall instrumentall manner agreed upon, paid and perfetted by commissioners on both sieds. But herupon grew a quarrell betwen the Turcke and the Emperor.

Borris Fedorowich, havinge ayem to a more absolute and greater titell, sent ambassodors to have some more nearer alliance and correspondencie with the kinge of Denmarcke, Fredericke, Knez Feodore Forresten [Schworostinin]; but it was so yong an age yet betwen Hartique [*Hertzog*] Hans, his third sonn, and Maria, his daughter, as littell could be resolved upon. Also, to shew and make knowen his greatnes, ther was an ambassodor sent, one Alphonasse Masolove, an aproved wise secreatarie of estate, wæll set forth with men and presents, to Maximillian the Garmaine Emperor: passed Dwina; toke shippinge at St. Nicholas in an English shipp to Hamborough and Lubecke, wher he was wæll enterteyned and feasted; came to the Emperor at Prage; delivered his letters and presents, white garfaulcons, two faire Percia carpetts, two peces of wholl cloth of gold, fower tymber of rich black sabells, fower blacke foxis, a curious wraught septer of gold, a rich Percia armour of bullatt. With these, wear desired affinitie with the emperiall crown prince and howse of Austria, a firm and everlastinge league and amitie, ready to take arms with them against the Turck, mortall enimie to Christ and christendom, that had nowe invaded Hungaria and other partes of the empire; and therupon offered to furnish him with 50 thowsand horss, gallant and expert souldiers, at three monneths warninge; he only procuringe of Stephanus Batur [Bathory], kinge of Polland, free passage and saffe conduct for his said army thorow his countries. This ambassodor was much made of, his message well liked, sightly enterteyned and with a great acceptance dismissed. But the Emperor not obteynenge leave of the king of Polland, who would not trust his enymie, the Muscavite, to com into his

kyngdom with such an army, sent his ambassodor with like presents of goodly horss, Garman clockes, etc.: to make tryall and som use of this his so proffered frendshipe, would borow of him 300 thowsand rubles, which is 900 thowsand dollors. But the Emperor and Boris demaundinge such hostages, and Fredericke the kinge of Denmark his assurance, that nothing came of this great offer but deridings, eyll will bothe of the Turcke and Crim Tartor, whom the Turcke sett on the Muscovits backe with such an huge army as cost the Emperor of the Muscovits infinite charge and loss of men. And the Pollonians and Swethians [Swedes] combynded and plotted how each of them might invade each others teritoris and anctient bounds; toke good oportunitie to recover all backe againe which the old Emperor Ivan had gotten from them before, especially in this time of devicion. And the Russ, beinge otherwaies imploied with an army to conquer Siberia, inlarged his dominions much, and brought awaye the Emperor of Siberia, Chiglicke Alothe, with his mother and his best nobells and *murseys*, as they term them, to the Musquo; where I saw him do many strainge feats at arms, one horss backe and on foate, after their fashion, and hærd him tell he had som Englishmen in his countrie, at least waye such men of countenanc as I was, taken with a ship, ordinance, powder and other richës, but two yeare before, that would have passed the river Ob to seeke Catay by the North Este.[1] Som Swethen souldiers escaped thenc and came to the Musquo to serve the Emperor; among whom was one Gabriell Elphingsten, a valiant Scottish captaine, by the report of the letters he brought to me from Corronell Steward, that served the king of Denmarcke, in comendacion of him

[1] Furbusher.—*Marginal note by Horsey.* [Hamel conjectures that the Emperor of Siberia here spoken of was the Czarovich Mametkul, who was despatched to Moscow in 1583-1584 by Jermak (the conqueror of Siberia); and that the English ship seized by him belonged to Jackman's expedition of 1580-1581. Horsey's reference to Sir Martin Frobisher is unintelligible.]

and six other Scotts, souldiers in his company, but all verie bare of monny and furnitur. Desired me to grac place and suplie their necessities. I disburst to him and them 300 dollers; putt them in aparrell, and bought them pistolls and swords; and when they wear marched wear better liked of then they Swedian souldiers that came in ther company. I gott Captaine Elphingstone the charge over them all, begenod (*sic*) of mony, horss and alowance for meat and drincke. Behaved themselves well for a tyme, yet could not repaye nor recompence me to this day, as by their letters apeareth. At this time ther was som secræat prectice by the discontented nobillitie to suplant the protector and all his designes and greatnes, which he durst not take open noatice of; streinghtned himself with good gard. A prectice was discovered to poison and make away the yonge prince, the old Emperors third sonn, Demetrius, his mother and all his alliances, frendes and famillies, narrowly guarded in a remote place at Ougletts. Also Mekita Romanowich, this Emperors unckell, the third nobleman trusted in the old Emperors will with Borris Fedorowich, who could indure noe competitor now to govern, two of the other priem princes beinge made away, as before you have hærd. This Mekita Romanowich, a stowt, valiant prince, honored and beloved of all men, was now bewitched, his speech and sens taken suddenly from him, yet lived awhiell. But the protector told me it should not be longe. His eldest sonn, a gallant yonge prince, first cossen to the Emperor, Feodor Mekitawich,[1] of great hope and expæctancie (for whom I made a Latten grammor, as well as I could, in the Sclavonian carector; in which he toke great delight), was now inforced to marrie his sisters Knez Boris Chercascois wiff her waitinge weoman, by whome he had a sonn, of whom you shall heer more herafter; and not longe after, his favour and greatnes in the populer opinion beinge feared, was, not longe after his fathers

[1] [Afterwards patriarch, under the name of Philaret.]

death, shorren a frier and made a yonge Archbishop of Rostove. His next brother, beinge of noe less a generous spirrit, named Alexander Mekitawich, owt of his great discontentment, could not conteyne nor disemble longer; toke oportunitie to stobb the prince protector, not so daingerous as ment; escaped into Polland, where he and Bodan Belscoie, the old Emperors great minion and favorett, wounderfull rich, and others ther and at hom, præcticed not only the utter ruen of Borris Fedorowich and all his famillie, but also the ruen and subvercion of the whole kyngdom, as you maye heer and read herafter. In the mean, it is tyme to return unto our own bussynes and negociacion committed to my charge.

And yet not idell, I procured unto the Company of merchants the fredom of all their howses in Musco, Yeraslav, Vollogda, Collmogor and St. Nicholas, seassed upon for great imposicions laied on them in displeasur upon Sir Jerom Bowes his eyll behavor: the releas of a thowsand robles laied upon the Company towardes the buildinge of the great new wall about the Musco, which all other straingers and merchants did paie. I obteyned the free release of a shute betwen the merchants of Musco and the Company for the depts of 30 thowsand rubles, owinge by a fæctor of theirs, one Antony Marsh, backed by some great counsallors and officers. Ther was recovered an old dept owinge by the Emperor for copper, lead and other comodites, 2000 rubles, as desperatt. The releas of John Capell and the goods he had of the Companies in his charge, 3000 li., taken in displeasure from him as a merchant of Lubeck to couller the same. Borrowed of the Emperor fower thowsand rubles for the use of the merchants sendinge to Vobsco to provide flæx before they had made sall of their merchandizes. Borrowed of the prince protector likwise for their use, and for nothinge, five thowsand rubles, who offered ten thowsand poundes more *gratice* owt of his treasorie, when it should

be required. All interlopinge merchants tradinge in those countries without leave of the Company, beinge 29, wear delivered into my handes to transport into England. This years custome due unto the Emperor, being two thowsand rubles, for all their merchandizes, was frely forgeaven them. I obteyned a free privalege from the Emperor for the Company to trade and trafficque thorow his countryes by the river Volga and the *Mare* Caspian Sea into Percia, free of all customs and tolls. I obteyned and procured under the emperiall seall a free privaledge granted unto the Company of English merchants from the Emperor to trade and traficque thorrow all his domynions, free from payinge any manner of customs and tolls whatsoever upon their merchandizes, either transported or imported, in as ample and large a manner as I could devis and sett down myself. Never the like obteyned by any ambassodor hertofore, though thowsands expended to procure the like; ratified, confirmed and delivered, by the princ protector in magnifecent manner, before all the lordes and officers present, and proclamed accordingly thorrow owt the kyngdoms. The protector sendes treasor to Sollavetzca monestarie, standinge upon the sea side, near the confiens bothe of the Danes and Swethians, one the north coast. His intent is to have it ther readie to be transported into England, holdinge it the shurest 'refuge' and saffest receptacall, in case of necessitie he should be inforced therunto; yt is all his own treasur, nothinge aperteyninge to the crowne, and of infinite value, if it be Englandes happines to have the custodie therof. But he is yet waveringe, as desirous to enter into leage and alliance with Denmarcke, to back him with their frendship and power. He and his cannot kepe nor contrive this purpose so secreat but that som hath bewraied it, and the aunctient nobillitie grow suspicious of me; and they and the bishops ar so jelious of his inward favour that they shew not that famillier and favourable countenance they wear wont to

doe towardes me. Therfore I speed my bussynes with as much seleritie as I can; and havinge dispætched and compast as much and more then is required of me or expected at my handes by the comissions and instructions geaven me, as well from the Counsall as the Company of merchants tradinge into those countries, at tyme apointed I receave the Emperowrs letters, honnorable dispatch and leave.[1]

A gentilman, one Alphonasse Savora, with 70 carts or *tilegos*, was apointed me to conduct and convey such carriages I had from the Musco with 40 post horss, besides my own geldings, for me and my company, to Vollogdar, 500 miells by land. Rich presents from the Emperowr, especially from Boris Fedorowich, to the Quen, wear delivered me; with his large comissions for providinge many costly thinges and doinge some secreat messages. He sent me a verie curious rare robe or garment of cloth of silver, wraught and made in Percia without seam, valewed at much more then I estemed it; a faire pavillian or tent imbrodered; wraught handkerchives, shertts and towells; with beaten gold and silver brought unto me by Simon Chamodanove his near kyndsman, from and in the name of Maria Feodoravna; a tymber of excelent good sabells; store of verie choiz haukes of all sorts, and men to convey and carie them to the seaside. At my takinge leave 'I entreated' two favours for my farwell, which wear graunted, the fredom and release of all the Lieflanders, men, weomen, widdowes and children, with their famillies, sent in displeasur to Neez Novogorode, 500 miells, in a desert place remote from the cittie of Musco, whose case and misserie was verie lamentable, as by many of their letters and peticions dothe apeare. A rolle and cathologe of all their names wear taken. Michall Consove was presently sent by comission, and the Emperors letters to the viovod for their deliverie. Their harts rejoisinge for this their redempcion, letters, tears and praiers, of thanckes

[1] [Horsey set out on his return to England in the summer of 1587.]

geavinge wear sent after me, yeat extant and worth the reading. The other was the release and fredom of a noblemans sonn of Gelderland, Heer Sacharius Glisenberght, chieff livtennant of all the Emperors horss, streinger souldiers, whoe died ther, and this his sonn and heir of x. years of age could not be redemed by mediation and letters both from the staets and king of Denmarcke. He was delivered into my handes and sent to his mother, Margareta de Feoglers, by a servant of myne, Hans Frees. Giells Hoffman and Anttony van Zelman, that wear inguaged, sent me a thowsand reekes dallers [rix-dollars], and well rewarded my man.

I departed the cittie of Musco verie honnorablie atended; went easie journyes and pitched my tents; dinner and supper, provicion of all things prepared upon the waye. At Vollogda, Knez Michaell Dolgaruca, the viavode, came to me well atended, to wælcome me with the Emperors goodnes. Prepared two great barckès or *dosnickes* with pillotts and 50 men to rowe me down the river Dwina, a thowsand miells. My gentilman atendant, with one of my servants, to see he did not bribe nor misuse the countrie, still passinge before me in a light boate, to make provicion of meat, drincke and men, at everie town I came at, till I arived at the monestarie and castell Archangell, where the duke Knez Michaell Izvenagorodscoie[1] mett me at the castell gate with 300 gonners; shott of their calivers and all the ordinance he had in the castell for honnor of my wælcom; all the Dutch and French ships in that roade shott of also their ordinance by the dukes apointment before I came. He feasted me the next daie, brought me to my barge; had apointed 50 men to rowe, and 100 gonners in small boates to gard me to Rose Island; did me all the honnor he could in his golden coate; told me he was comanded by the Kinges letters so to doe; toke leave and preied me to signifie his service to Boris

[1] [According to Hamel, Prince Vassily Andreievitsch Svenigorodsky. See p. 239.]

Fedorowich; came with me few howers to Rose Iland, beinge but 30 miells, wher all the English masters, agent and merchants, mett me. The gonners landed before me, stode in ranckes and shott of all their calivers; which the ships heeringe shott of also som of their ordinance. The gonners and bargmen made drincke at the sellor dore and dispatched that night backe again to the castell. The next daye friers of St. Nicholas brought me a present, fræsh salmons, rye loaves, cupps and painted plætters. The thirde daye after my arivall, ther was sent a gentilman, Sablock Savora, a captain, from the duke; delivered me a copie of his comission of the Emperors and Boris Fedorwich their grace and goodnes towards me; presented for my provicion seaventie live shepe, twenty live oxen and bullockes, 600 henns, fortie flæches of bakon, two milch keyne, two goats, tenn fræsh sallmons, fortie gallons of aqua-vita, one houndred gallons of mead, two houndred gallons of beer, a thowsand loaves of white bread, thre score bushells of meall, two thousand eggs, garlicke and onnyons store. Ther was fower great lighters, and many watermen and other that came with this provicion, which wear all orderly dismist, and I contented a littell to repose myself and peruse the Quens most gracious letter 'wherwith she did me that honnor,' the lordes of her Majesties most Honorable Privie Counsaill, their generall and particulers letters, the Companyes generall letters, and other my good frendes ther remembrances; which remaine extant to this daye to my comfortt, and for my posteritie to read after me. I toke some tyme to make merrie with the masters and merchants, havinge some pastymes that followed me, plaiers, danzinge bares, and pieps and dromes and trompetts; feasted them and devided my provicion in liberall proporcion. In the mean, I sent a discreet servant, Sameiten, post up to the court to Borris Fedorowich, with my letters of humbly thanckes for all these favours, and to other lordes and high officers; from whome I receaved most gracious

letters and new presents againe by Mr. Francis Cherrie, a wholle peece of cloth of gold for to wear in a garment, for Boris Fedorwich his sake, with a fare timber of sabells to lyne yt withall. These letters are worth the shewinge and reading, bothe for manner and phraze, to whom yt shall pleas to have a sight therof.

After all this, beinge wæll fitted and ready, I and my company wear shipped in a taulle ship, named the Centurian, the next daye after St. Barthellmew, and I, with them, arived in saffetie that daye five weekes at Tynmouthe[1] in Northumberland; posted up with fower men to Yorcke and so to London, in fower dayes; came to the court at Richmond.

By my lord Treasurers and Mr. Secreataries means, which was then Sir Francis Walsingham, I was brought to the Quen; had audience, delivered the Emperors letters and his free privaleges graunted unto her Majesties subjects as a token and present of his brotherly love unto her hightnes, with golden spread eagell sealls at them. After an accounte of my imploiments geaven (which yt pleased her Majesty verie exactly to inquier with good wordes and gracious countenance), her hightnes commended my good usage and enterteynment to Mr. Secreatarie Walsingham, and so dismist me for that tyme. Som wæke after, the letters and privaleges beinge translated and read to the Quen, she said, —"Inded, my lordes, this is a princlie present from the Emperor of Muscovia, and such as the merchants do not deserve;"—against whome she was much incenst by the complaints of Sir J. Bowes, by reason of the shuts [suits] and differences betwen them;—"but I hope they will give better usage and recompence to this my servant, Jerom Horsey, and I praie you see it be so,"—speakinge to my lord Treasurer and Mr. Secrætarie. Made me kneell by her; perused the lyminge and carectors of the privaledge,

[1] [He landed at Tynemouth on the 30th of September 1587.]

havinge some affinitie with the Græke; asked if such and such letters and asseveracions had not this signification; saied she,—"I could quicklie lern it."—Preyed my lord of Essex to lern the famoust and most copius language in the world; after which comendacion his honor did much affect and delight it, if he might ateyn therunto without paienstakinge and spendinge more time then he had to spare.

The shipps wear wæll arived at London; had my presents and necessaries all ready. I made means for a new audience; at Grenwich I was called for. I had twell servants and atendants wæll atir'd carrienge my presents, which her Majesty would have brought up a backe way against my will, conducted by Mr. Henry Sackfield; came into a withdrawinge chamber wher her Majesty sate, acompanied with the errell of Essex, the lord treasurer, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Thomas Heanedge, Sir Walter Rawly and other, the lady Marques (*sic*), the lady Warwicke, and other ladies. I delivered my letters from the prince Boris Fedorowich, with his stiell, 'love' and most humble salutacions of service, and to make knowen unto her hightnes that, above all the princis and potentats of the world, he most desiered to adore and serve her most emperiall and sacred Majesty. "If this prince be so illusterus in wordes, what will his letters declare? Praye open them; let them be read, Mr. Secrætarie."—Who said, "It requiers some time, and please your Majesty, to translate: I will trust[1] him with[1] them that brought them."—Then her Majesty asked for the presents. They wear atendinge in the gallery. Comanded som to forbare and withdraw, fearinge belike some would be bagginge. I delivered to her hightnes, she towchinge everie parcell with her hand, first fower peces of Percia cloth of gold, and two whole peces of cloth of silver, of curious worckes; a large rich cloth of state of white arras, the representacion of the sun shining in his full splen-

[1] [These words should be transposed.]

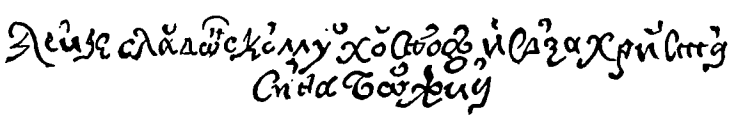
dancie; gold and sillver beams interwraught with most orient coullers; silkes, silver and gold, the threed sliked flat, to illustrat the bewty therof; a faire larg Turcky carpett; fower black verie rich timbers of sabells; six white well growen spotted luzerance; two shubs or gowns of white armmens. The Quen did eaven sweat by takinge paines to handell the canapie cloth of gold, especially the rich sabells and furs; comanded Mrs. Skidmor and Mrs. Ratcliff, both of her Majestys bead-chamber, and Mr. John Stanhope, to help them to laye these things into her Majestys closett. Two white garrfaulkens, a last of girckens and a last of sloght faulcons and two gashaukes, she loked upon owt of the windowes; comanded my lord of Comberland and Sir Henry Lee to take charge and give good acount of them. Her Majesty held up her hand and saied, this was a rare and a royall present indeed: gave me thanckes and dismist me.

I preyed Mr. Vizchamberlain to be a means that the articens of London might be called for to make estimate of the furrs; the mercers of the cloth of gold, my lord of Cumberland and Sir Henry Lee to value the worth of the hawkes. The letters wear translated and the privaleges. Sir Rowland Heyward, Sir George Barn, Sir John Hartt, and Mr. Customer Smyth, and some other grav aldermen and merchants, wear to receav their privaleges, with a sharp and yet a gracious admonicion, by whome I was much made of and frendly enterteyned. Among whom I perceaved fæction, and such underhand dealings that privatt respects and commodits was more preferred and sought for then the generall good; so that their disagreinge and eyll handlinge of their trade both at home and abroade, did not produce much less preserve the fredom and benifitt of so great and gracious a privaledge.

I was wearie with the holy water of the courts, as my honored good frend, Sir Francis Walsinghame, termed good words and aplaudinge commendacions: was willinge to retire myself to a more saffer privatt and quieter liff then I had spent

this seaventen years past, still in daingerous passages, fearfull actions and turbulent trowblsom state of livinge; expendinge what I gate and much more then a frugall wise man remembringe futur tymes would have don: desirous now to settell and gather my pore estate together, and my stocke and adventurs and proffits therof owt of the Companyes handes. Yt pleased her Majesty and her counsaill to comand my service yet farther in a mor difficult and daingerous imploiment then ever I have been exposed hertofore, in regard only of the languages and experience those seaventen years had taught me,' which my lord treasuror and Mr. secrætarie Walsingham desired to have sett down, to heer and perceave the pronunciacion and differenc each had with the other; some exactly and familliarly ateyned unto, other som, by conversinge with the ambassodors, nobelmen and merchants, but in part, as Percian, Grecian, Pollish and the Garman, viz.,

Sclava.—



Pollish.—Bozia da vashinins Coopovia malascova mōia paña.

Garman.—Der hemmell ys hoth (*sic*) und de erde doep averst der h°.

Percia.—Sollum alica. Barracalla. Shonam cardash. alica so' [sollum?].

Livonia.—Cusha casha keil sop sull yu umaluma dobrofta.

A smake there is in other things, but small purpose.

At a tyme it pleased the Quen to fall into some serius talk of Borris Fedorowich the prince protector, of his greatnes and goverment, and of the Emporis and his ladie wiff: questioned many things, and wished she had som of their statliest atyer, which cost my purs more then I made benifett of, and what drifft of incouragment by waye of som good pollacie

might be used for that princ to continew his purpose, sithence he was so well perswaded and affect to trust her realms with the safftie of his treasur, etc.[1] To the which I aunswered and wished all secreacie might be used, for that som other privacies comitted to my charge had ben so whispered owt, not of my self, as not longe after it came to the prince and Emporis ears, wherat grew no small jeloucie and displeasur; as divers messingers wear prepared, as Beckman at one tyme, Crow and Garland at another, to com and lern not only how the same was taken, whoe and what the report was, which made diversly; so as great displeasur came therof, and brought exceadinge great disaster both to myself and other greater personages, not fitt almost to be spoken of much less published. God forgive Sir Jerom Bowes for one.—"Wæll!" saies the Quen,—"wee will have the trueth better examined and knowen."—"Noe, for the passion of God! if your Majesty expect any good success by my farther imploiment, let it not be farther spoken of nor sturd in." Now Frederickę, king of Denmarcke, had made a great imbargment and stey of the English merchants ships and goods within his Sound at Copmanhagen, for fals entering in his custom house of their clothes and merchandizes, wherby all was confiscated to his mercie. They shued unto the Quen for letters of redress; and so did the Esteren merchants also to the Kinge of Polland for remedie of divers dolliances and wrongs, susteyned by them from his subjects. Mr. Secreatarie wishinge my advancement and good, I beinge apointed to take Cullen [Cologne] in my waye, wher the diett was to be now kept, and to accompany Sir Oracio Pallavecine[2] and Monzer de Frezen,[3] the French kings ambassodor into Garmanie, thought these

[1] To [too] late.—*Marginal note by Horsey.*

[2] [Sir Orazio Pallavicino, a Genoese Protestant settled in England, and a most zealous agent of Queen Elizabeth in raising and remitting to Germany and the Low Countries funds for the support of the Protestant cause.]

[3] [Philippe de Canaye, Sieur de Fresne, a French Protestant employed

bussines might be performed all in one waye to the Emperor of Moscovia. I prepared accordingly, and was ready in good fashion; fortie shillings a daye alowed me; receaved my letters and pattents comendatory for passinge so many kingdoms and countries, with my comissions and instructions of all sorts. The Quen gave me a littell glass of holsom balsom, part of that Sir Francis Drake had geaven to be verie precious and soveraine against poyson and hurts. Her Hightnes gave me also, for divers Muscovia handkerchers, cushen cloths, towells, etc., wraught curiously in gold, silver and Percia silks, all of good worth, her Majestys pictur cutt in a fair blew saphire, which she wished me to wear in remenbrance of her grace. Kissinge her handes I toke my leave.[1]

One of her Majestyes ships was apointed for Sir Oratio Pallavesin and the French ambassdor; and another, named the Charells, for me and my company. Came to Lynn; the counsall was advertised from thenc that was a daingerous haven for the Quens ships to com into. Then wear we apointed to take shippinge at Yarmouth: toke Cambridge at the desier of the Frænch ambassodor one our waye, much against Sir Aracio [Oracio] his will, wher he and wee wear verie accademicallie enterteyned; passed to Norwich and to Yarmouth, wher beinge somtyme wind bound, the townsmen and gentilmen near therabouts used our company with good humanitie. Some dislike ther was betwen these two ambassodors; I sought a reconcilliacion; the one overhaughtie, the other takes advantage by pollacie; I fear me wilbe some obstacle to the effectinge of the affares they goe bothe aboute. Tyme serves for our imbarqinge, they to their charge and I to myne; wear bothe indaingered of

by Henry IV in political commissions in England and Germany. He was associated with Jean de la Fin, Seigneur de Beauvoir la Nocle, in a mission to England in 1589.]

[1] [Horsey set out on this his last mission to Russia in April 1589.]

castinge awaie by storm upon the Empden coast to Stoad, wher at last wee did arive. The Quens ships knowen by their ordinance and insignes, wee wear well received, bothe of the towns men and English merchants, each of us well placed and acomodated with wynes, fresh vittualls and orations for our wælcom. Sir Oratio and the Frænch ambassodor hardly escapinge the malcontents, a troupe of them laienge waiett for them near a nunrye by Bucktohow, and valued their ransomes. They towards the ducke of Saxony and other the emperiall princes, the Quens best allies, and I towards Coullen. When I came to Hamborough I caused my man, John Frees, to prefix early in the morninge upon the town-howse dore an edict, both in Latten and Duch, a prohibicion from the Quens Majesty of England to that and all other Hans and mariten towns to transportt thorrow the Narowe seas into Spaigne any vittualls, corn, municion, powder, cabells, or any other tackle and provicion for shippinge, upon payne of confiscacion, and then I hied me awaye towards Lubecke, x. miells of, where I delivered the like to the burger-meister, who hufft therat, saienge they would pass with their shippinge in spight of the Quen of Englands power.[1] From thence to Liepswicke and so to Coullen, wher the diett was apointed to be held; where, by reason of the inequallitie of the Emperiall princes metinge, it held not. The bishop of Triers sicke, the bishop of Mentz, the Palsgrave, Saxony, and Dukes of Brandingbourgh failinge, and other princes wantinge, I sent an express messinger, Mr. Parvis, accordinge to my comission, to advertice the Quen and Counsalle the Diett was ajournyed for three years to Reginesburghe; wherupon Sir Edward Dier, her Majesties ambassodor apointed, was steyed. And yet, to behold the rest of the princes, cardinalls, ambassodors, and the traines, peopell and provicion, ther asembled, was worth the sight.

Sir Oracio Pallavecin, her Majesties ambassodor, and

[1] But they paid for it.—*Marginal Note.*

Mouseur de Frezen for the kinge of Navare,[1] wear now a negociatinge and solicitinge the dukes of Saxony, Brandingburge and som other the emperiall princes, for eight thowsand Swessers to ayed the Frænch kinge and sett that crown one his head, now in combustian with his subjects. They would take noe noatice of the Frænch king nor of his ambassodor; but for the love and honnor they bore to the Majesty of England, and upon her word of assurance and paye, they would provide and furnish the kinge of Navar with eight thowsand aunctient souldiers, wherof fower thowsand wear prepared and sent awáy within fowerten daies, through the industry and creditt of Sir Aracio Pallavecin takinge up upon bills of exchainge at Frænckford, Staad and Hamborow, 80 thowsand pounds sterlinge, by the means of Giells Hoffman (whose daughter he married ther), Antonio Anselman, and other great merchants in those parts; the which was paid in press for settinge forth of those Sweessers. Letters came from the French kinge to his ambassodor to tell the emperiall princis that would not trust him he held himself most beholdinge unto his lovinge sister the Majesty of England. The fower thowsand Swessors wear at hand, and seaven thowsand volluntarie souldiers more sent him by the Quen of England under the conduct of a noble chiefftane,[2] with which, and the infinite nombers his frendes and allies that did daily adhere unto his ayed and armye, he should be able not only to conquer peace over his enymies at home, but also readie to sæcke the walls of Rome or longe be. He should lose the press-mony, and dismiss the other fower thowsand Swessers. Wæll! I must leave these affaires to them that have charge of them, and return to my tedious journies and journalls.

Came back to Wiemer and Rostocke in Mæckelborugh, and so crost over to Elsenenore and Copmanhagen; wher, by means of Ramelious, the Duch chancelor, I was brought

[1] [Henry IV of France.] [2] Lord Willowby.—*Marginal note.*

to Fredericke,[1] kinge of Denmarke. Delivered the Quens letters and speech unto the kinge: he saluted me.[2] I laied my hand one his anckell. Asked how the Quen his lovinge sister did. "Her Majesty was wæll in hælth at my departure, wishinge the like unto his highness." Dismist and conducted to my lodginge at Fredericke Liell's howse. Frittz van Ward, one of the Masters of Request, or Kings referendaries, was sent to me from the kinge to know if I had any more to saye then was conteyned in the Quens letters. I told him "Yea, if it pleased his Majesty to admytt the audience therof." Ther was a gallant gentilman, one 'Sir' Andrew Keith, the kinge of Scotts his ambassodor, wæll atended, that became aquainted with me, lodged at the next howse, of whome I was in some jeolacie at first; shewed me kindnes; told me my answer was resolved upon alredy; that the kinge was moved against the Quen for not geavinge her consent so frely as it was expected for the match betwen the kinge and his daughter. I was sent for, gave his Majesty the best stiell and titell I could devise to please him.—"Our sister, the Majesty of England, requiers at our hands to great a loss. Wee ar possest of 30 thowsand pownds forffitur to our crown by the træcharie and falshode of her subjects, whoe have not only upon our princlie trust deceaved us in our customs of many more thowsands forgeaven them hertofore, for the love and true corespondencie wee ever held towards her Majesty, but also therby they have incouraged other nacions to do the like, to our exceedinge great indempnitie. Not only bee her admirall and treasurer wearie, and insult upon our willingnes and desier of the continewance of our aunctient treatie and amitie, [but they] have of late seised upon divers shipps and goods belonginge to our subjects for passinge only in trafficque thorow the narowe seas;

[1] [Frederick II, King of Denmark, died in April 1588, a year before Horsey's present mission: yet his successor, Christian IV, was at this time a child of twelve years of age.]

[2] In no staet.—*Marginal note.*

and [they] can receave noe reason nor restitucion therof. For the other pointe, yearly paye of 100 rose nobles, yt is but acknowledgement of our right, an homage ever due and paiable by her Majestics aunchesters unto our predicessors, lords and kings of Norwaye, and of all the said occean seas ajacent, so laetly confirmed and ratiffied by the deliberatt contemplacion and comission of her Majestys ambassodor Harberd, the which wee purpose to injoie and not to forgoe. These are the points and terms wee stand upon for aunswer unto the Majesty our lovinge sister her letters. You see tyme is spent and will not permitt replie. If you desier it I will apoint commissioners to receave the same, but I hold them unanswerable."—Yt was past twelve aclock.—"I will not press your princlie pacience for a present replie, since it standes with your Majesties pleasur, though to a great disadvantage, to apointe commissaries to receave the same. I only pray youre Majestys letters for aunswer to her hightnes."—He made a slight conjur [*congé*], and so turnd awaie; and my dinner called me home with noe great apetite or stomacke to digest som words.

The next daie I was sent for. The Duch chancelor, two masters of request and a secreatorie, wear ready to receave me in a large chamber, fairlye hanged, as semed to me, with arrace. I was atended only with a gentilman, my servants and fower or five merchants, whoe gave me instructions. "My lordes, since yt is his Majestys pleasur not to heer me, yet, seinge I am adressed to treat of matter and not to stand upon cerimonye, his Majestys verball answer to those two points conteyned within her Majestys letters, as I remember, ar these;"—which my memorie served puntuallie to recite.—"A third, by waye of inferrence, wherin yt pleased his wisdome to use much art of elocucion, I maye not replie unto but by waye of discourse with your lordships: for the trueth incerted in her Majestys letters doth sufficiently

mainteyne and serve both for aunswer and replie. The merchants faults, which is termed træchorie and falshode, I maie not defend. If it be so, they ar here readie to aunswer and aprove their allegacions, that it is noe other then ever hath ben used, knowen and tollerated by his Majestys customors since this coacted tex hath ben imposed upon them. Their entry for their number and sorts of cloaths weare just; only the wrappers of everie pæcke excepted; however, now, upon misprision or som displeasiour conceaved, questioned. If other nacions have offended, they might presume upon so firm amitie and league professed, subjects to so mightie a prince as dothe retribute the like to farr noe worss then they, not questioned at all the stey of their ships and of noe other nacions. Their charge and loss of their mart and hinderance in trafficque, which is free to all other, ys not only an unevitable loss, but more then sufficient punished if they had offended: the necessitie wherof maye inforce their inocencie to som other course of remedie. But that the Quens majesty requiers in their behalfe is but the common justice which his Majesty affordeth to all other withowt shute. To the other pointe, I am comanded to lett you know her Majestys late ambassodor, Mr. Harberd [Herbert], had noe comission to asente to any such exaction or yearly payment of 100 rose nobles by her Majestys subjects tradinge into the northeren ocean seas; neither can any such due or right be acknowledged, never paid by her Majestys aunchestors to his highnes predicessors: noe reccord, historie nor cronacle, doth make mencion of any such thinge. If her Majestys subjects, [be] imploied in fishinge or trade in any of his Majestys towns, Norbergrav, Trondem, or Wardhowse, upon those coasts, they paye their usuall customs as other nacions doe, from whom noe such texacion is required, much less any homage;[1] which term I fear wilbe distasted, and therfore resolutly not be expected nor inforced. Conserninge stey of shipps

[1] This word was prest to be misunderstode.—*Marginal note in MS.*

and goods of his Majestys[1] subjects by the lord treasurer and lord admirall of England, yt is noe dependant of the other occasions; but in discourse, as I said to you, my lordes, be it spoken, the royall Majesty of England ys and ever hath ben verie curious and carefull not to suffer any such cause of offence to be geaven to the Majesty of Denmarcke. His highnes maibe misincenced. Those ships so steyed, though cominge owt of his Sound, ar Esterlings of Lubeck, Statten, Danzicke, Quinsborrowgh, remote from the territoris of Denmarcke, loden with munician, powder, cabells, and vittualls, to serve her Majestys comon enymie, forbidden to pass her highnes narow seas; as his Majesty would noe doupt of[have], as in like case hath, prohibited her Majestys subjects and other nacions to transportt or pass thorow the Sound and Baltique seas to his comon enymie the kinge of Sweden; they two ever beinge in hostillitie, as England and Scottland; though perhaps coullerd by som of his subjects for som privatt comoditie, by reason of the so firm leagne and amitie betwen bothe. Lett it be, otherwise, truly proved, either by their charters, pollices or bills of ladinge, and noe doupt but justice and restoracion wilbe made accordinglie. O! lett not the aprehencion of these sugestions from those fier-brandes sever and parte the aunctient league and treatice betwen these two great monarchies, or cause to be called in memorie the unkinde interupcion of her Majestys subjects passinge the ocean seas, the Majesty of England knowen to be the only proprietor therof as well as of the narow seas, Great Britans revenews; the buffetinge and misusinge of her Majestys subjects by your admirall, Johan Wolf, tradinge for fish and oyell upon those northeren coasts, takinge by violence their vittualls, saells, cabells, anckers, exposing them to death and the mercies of the seas, for he shewed noen; they rest unsatisfied to this day: the intizinge awaye her Majestys servants and ship-

[1] [King of Denmark.]

wrights to fashion your navie after the same moulds: the carienge awaie owt of her Majestys kingdome much ordinance, both brass and yron, peces and other munición, in the tyme of your greatest warrs with the Swethian. How often and many tymes the strenght of her Hightnes merchants navie have ben instigated, not only to pass the esteren seas without acknowledgment, but also to compas, thorow the Norwaye and Finland seas, to trade and trafficque into Swethia, Stockhollm, Narve, Riga, Revell, Danzicke, Quinsborow, and all other the mariten towns of trade, leavinge the passage thorrow the Sounde, which now they ar inforced to do for peace, precident and amitie sake, against the like and wills of such other princes as affect neither, rather pleased with the effucion of bloude yt maye be upon such light occasions of small moment precticed to be spillt; the which I doupt not but you, such principall lordes of state, will in your grave and great wisdoms seeke to prevent."—They began to replie. I praied them to pardon my wearines for want of repose; and so was atended by som gentilmen to my lodginge. The kinge sent to know whether I had comission to conclud and determen of any thinge. "Noe, I was to propound, intimat and observe her Majestys letters; the contents graunted and aunswered was all I atended for."—"Sofft, sir, ther goes two wordes to such a bargaine."—I dined with the Kinge, but could not drincke so wæll, only her Majestys, his Highnes, and the Quen Sophias, their healths, etc.

I receaved his Majestys letters, a chaine of gold, worth some 40 li., saluted, and so dismist. Came againe to Lubeck; dispatched ther my letters and noats on what was done, and sent them by a worthy merchant, Mr. Daniell Bond. Yt seems this treatice wraught some good effect. The merchants that offered composicion did now refuse; procured Mr. Doctor Pærkens[1] to com with the Quens letters; had quicke

[1] [Dr. Christopher Perkins appears to have had the queen's commis-

dispatch and release of the merchants ships and goods, not without som good charge; but to me for my paines littell or none. Yet I must goe forward to such or like other bussynes. When I came to Danzicke, 500 miells from Lubeck, the deputie and assistants of the English merchants, Mr. Barcker, etc., understandinge of my arivall, invited my waye by Melvin, wher they had their recidencie, towardes the kinges court of Polland. Ther was I to receave their instructions. Therfore I went by Torn and thorow Podolia, a fruetfull region, and so to Warsovia, wher the kinge Siginsmundus was, and wher the said deputie, Mr. Barker, and his company mett me, verie well prepared to enter into such another labourenth, though somwhat more differinge and difficult. The great chauncelor Zamoietzcoie was tenn miells of the court, at his own towne, built and called after his own name; to whome I would first have had access, beinge the priem viavod, lieftennant-gennerall and statzman of that kingdom. But, least then I should be noated by other lordes and officers of state and prejudice my negociacion, I adrest myself to the principall secrætarie and under chauncelor, whoe procured a tyme for my access and deliverie of my letters to the kinge. But stey was made of any proceadings till the great chauncelor came to the court; to whome I mad means to have access, but could not. Pann Ivan Cleabawich, Pallentine of Cowen, a great favorett of his, was of my aquaintance; to whose allies and frends, captives somtymes to the old Emperowr Ivan Vazilewich, I had done som favours unto. He mediated som countenance from the chauncelor towards me: receaved me with honnor, but with som noate of dislike that I did not atend his pleasur.

sion to treat with the king of Denmark in the year 1590. See a series of papers relating to negotiations for settling the mutual claims of English and Danish merchants, at this period, in the Cottonian MSS. Nero B. iii and iv.]

Two comissioners wear apointed, the secrætarie Stannislave and referendarius Obroskie to conferr with me aboute the Quens Majestys complainte, on the behalf of her merchants tradinge those countries, whoe had trusted the marchants and subjects of that crown and kingdom with cloth and other merchandizes, to the valew of fower score thowsand pounds sterlinge, and became insolvent, alteringe their dwellings and purchacinge with these monyes, howses and landgoods upon which they did inhabite, having gotten and procured the kings letter of protection for their exempcions from justice, to the excedinge great prejudice and undoinge of many her said Majestys merchants. They told me it was a new complainte, which they had not hærd of; therfore thought it was not so currant true as the Quens Majesty of England was informed. Here did the merchants atend, readie to aprove and atest the same before their lordships, with a cathologe of their names, and their bills of dept, which did shewe how longe they had forborn the same.—"So it may be, and yet much therof paid and discharged: this requiers som larger tyme of examinacion. They ought to be hærd also."—Both myself and many of the said merchants did atend his Majestys aunswer, remedy and pleasur therin.—"His Majesty and the rest of the lords should be forthwith made aquainted with the cause, and you accordingly shall heer farther with what expedicion maibe."—I made my good frend, the Pallentine, the means againe to pray the great chauncelor his favour and furtherance from my dispatch, whose frowninge and slightinge semed to be overpast; sent somtymes congratularie messages and presents to me, and called for me before himself and other lordes of the counsalle; whoe told me the kings Majesty marveled much the Quen of England would write such peremptarie letters to so a hight a Majesty in the behalf of a sortt of pessants that might complaine without just case.—"And please your excelencie, with the rest of your lordships, the Quens hight

Majesty of England writes unto the Majesty of Polland in the same stiell and manner as her Highness doth to all other emperiall kings, her lovinge allies and frendes, placinge and esteminge his brotherly amitie and greatnes in the fore ranck of many other; and noe exception can justly be taken for trueth and matter conteyned in her hightnes letters, complaints, upon due inquirie and examinacion, made unto her Majesty by her hightnes woorthy subjects and ryall marchants, receoned in her Majestys esteme farr above the rancke of pessants, whoe requier in all humble manner but justice, which his emperiall seat afordeth all men."—"Prove your assercions, and justice shal be minestered accordingly: but know this, I praie you, your Quen cannot lymett nor lett his Majestys princlie pleasur and preheminenc royall to grant his kingly protections to whom and to such subjects as his royall wisdom shall thinke worthy of."—"Farr be yt from the meaninge of that straine, noble sirs, or restrainte; all that is required is but your waye to justice of this kyndom for recoverie of her Majestys subjects goodes and wælth, gotten into the handes of such as have perhaps abusively procured such protections, and therby do deteyn the same. The pollacie and providence of this state is so wæll knowen to the world to maintein trade and commers with all nacions by their wæll usage, as wæll to transportt such superfluous comodities as originally groweth within these kingdoms, and to importt such forren comodities as the necessitie thereof requiers, wherby the crown customs ar advanced, noblemens revenewes imploid to the best advantage, merchants and all other sorts of articens turns served, which maketh this comonwælth and people to live in such florishing estate above many other forren nacions. All which I must leave to your lordships better knowledge and wisdoms, and crave pardon for any thinge you conceave amiss."—Wee parted with som more famillier countenance then wee mett; and the next morninge the

chauncelor sent to know how I had rested, and preyed me to send him, by one of the marchants, the cathologe of the creditors names, their bills of dept and dwellinge-places. Which I did, and, by one of my own servants, a faire and curious cutt worke handckercheve, a paire of perfumed gloves, and a chaine of ambergræce; which the chauncelor receaved thanckfully, with good reward to the messinger. In the mean wee made merrie with hoep, went abrade and saw many monnements and recreacions, expectinge the good daie that the chauncelor and the same lordes sent for me; told me the kinges Majesty had graunted the [Queen's] Majestys request, and desired to live in amitie with her, and her merchants should be wæll enterteyned and receave noe wronge. Ther wear twelve proclamacions imprinted, which should presently be sent forthe, published and proclamed by an herauld, in Melvin, Danzick, Koningsburgh, and such other great towns of traficque and places wher the merchants should advise, to this effect;—"That all such his subjects, merchants or other, that wear indepted for any goods, merchandizes, monys or contract, unto any of the English merchants tradinge into his kingdoms, should presently repar unto them and make satisfection, payment or agrement, with them and either of them, within the space of thre monneths after the date herof, upon his Majestys high displeasur, salle and confiscacion of all their livelehode, landes, goodes, howses and chattells whatsoever, notwithstandinge any protection, privaledg, or letter whatsoever to the contrarie. Dated at our emperiall town of Warsovia, this last of July, the second year of our reyngne, *anno Domini* 1589, *stilo veteri*."

I dined with the kinge; had few wordes of him; his Majestys letters and pattents; kist his highnes hand and dismist. I was feasted by the lord hight chamberleyne Pann Lucas Obrovscoie, his only favorett. I dispatch the merchants with my letters unto Mr. Secreatarie Walsingham, of all what had past. They presented me som good reward,

and promised their company should farther recompence me; Mr. John Harberd,[1] before me, could not prevalle.

I was willinge to see Quen Ann, Kinge Sigimsmondus the third his daughter, Kinge Stephanus Batur his late widow and wiff. Lett me, after our bussynes done, a littell degress, though to a matter of small pertinencie. I putt one one of my mens livories, passed to her pallace; before the windowes wherof wear placed potts and ranckes of great carnacions, gelly-flowers, province rosses, swett lillies, and other sweett herbs and strainge flowers, geavinge most fragrent swett smells. Came into the chamber she satt and supped in; stood emonge the rest of many other gentilmen. Her Majesty sate under a white silke canapie, upon a great Turckye carpett, in a chaire of estate, a hard favored Quen: her mayeds of honnor and ladies atendants at supper in the same room, a great travers drawen betwen; saw her service and behaviour and atendance. At last one spied me that had taken noatice of me before: told the lord steward standinge by her chaire; he castinge his eye upon me, made other to behold me. I shiffted backe; he told the Quen.—"Call him hether, though not in state." Saieth the old lord,—"Will you any thinge with her Majesty?"—"Noe, sir, I came but to see her Majestys princly state and presents [presence], for which I crave pardon if it be offence."—"Her Majesty will 'have' speach with you." I was discovered by my curious ruffes. The ladies hasted from their tabell, came about the Quen. The Quen, after I had done my obeisance, asked if I wear the gentilman of England that had lately negociated with the kinge; and by her interpreter would know the Quens name. —"Elizaveta is to blessed a name for such a scurge of the catholicque church; her sisters name was Maria, a blessed saint in heaven."—I desired to speake without her inter-

[1] [John Herbert had been sent on a mission to Poland in the year 1583. See a series of papers relating to his proceedings there in that and the following years, in the Cottonian MS., Galba D. xiii.]

preter, who did not well.—"Praie doe."—"Quene Elizabeths name is most renouned and better accounted of by the best and most pouisent greatest emperiall kings and princes of this world; the defendris of the true and aunctient catholicke church and faith, so reverenced and stilled, as her due, both by foes and frendes."—"Na! na! sir, if she be soe, whie dothe she so cruelly putt to death so many holly catholikes, Storie, Campion, and other godly marters."—"They wear traitors to God and her crown, precticed her subvercion and ruen of her kyngdom."—"Yea! but how could she spill the bloud of the Lordes anointed, a Quen more magnificent then herself, without the triall, jugement and consent of her peers, the holly father the pope, and all the Christian princes of Europia."—"Her subjects and parliament thought it so requiset, without her royall consent, for her more saffety and quiett of her realme daily endaingered."—She shoke her head with dislike of my aunswer. Her Majestys gostly father Possavine, the great Jesuite, came in; toke displeasur at my presenc; one whose skirts I had sate before in the cittie of Musco, when he was nunciat ther and rejected. Her Majesty called for a glas of Hungers wine with two slices of chea' bread upon it. Willed the lord steward to give it me; which I refused till her highness had taken it into her own handes to give it me; and so dismist. I was glade when I came home to putt of my livorie; but my hostis, a comly gentilweoman wæll knowen to the Quen, was presently sent for. Her Majesty was desirous to see the perrell chayn I ware a Sounday, when I toke my leave of the kinge; the rather because a bold Jew, the kinges chieff customer, toke it in his hand, and told the kinge, as the Quen said, that they wear counterfeite perrell, fish eys dried; and to know how my ruffes wear starched, handsomly made with silver wyer and starched in England. My chaine was returned, and noe honnor lost by the Quens sight therof. Yt is tyme to leave troublinge of you for readinge any more unless more serious.

The eaveninge I parted from Warsovia I past over a river upon the side wherof laye a crocadille serpent dead, which my men brake with bore spears. I was suddenly so poisned with the stench therof, as I was forced to lye many daies sicke in the next villag; wher I found such Christian favour for my atendance and help from divers that came to visset me, beinge a strainger, as I miraculously recoverd. When I came to Villna, the chieff cittie in Littuania, I presented myself and letters pattents from the Quen, that declared my titells and what I was ufito the great duke viovode Ragaville [Radzivil], a prince of great excelencie, prowes and power, and religious protestant. Gave me great respect and good enterteynment; told me, though I had nothinge to say to him from the Quen of England, yet, he did so much honnor and admire her excelent vertus and graces, he would also hold me in the reputacion of her Majesties ambassador; which was som pollacie that his subjects should thincke I was to negociate with him. Toke me with him to his church; heard devine service, sphalms, songs, a sermon and the sacræments ministred accordinge to the reformed churches; wherat his brother, cardinall Ragavill, did murmour. His hightnes did invite me to diner, honnored with 50 halberdeers thorow the cittie; placed gonnors and his guard of 500 gentilmen to bringe me to his pallace; himself, acompanied with many yonge noblemen, receaved me upon the tarras; brought me into a very larg room wher organes and singing was, a longe tabell sett with pallentins, lordes and ladies, himself under a cloth of estate. I was placed before him in the middest of the table; trompetts sound and kettell droms roared. The first service brought in, ghesters and poets discourse merily, lowed instrûments and safft plaied very musically; a sett of dwarffes men and weomen finely atired came in with sweet harmeny, still and mournfull pieps and songs of art; Davids tymbrils and Arons swett soundinge bells, as the termed them. The varietie made the tyme pleasinge and short.

His hightnes drancke for the Majesty the angelicall Quen of England her health; illustrated her greatnes and graces. The great princes and ladyes every one their glass of sweet wynes plæged, and I did the like for his health. Strainge portraturs, lyons, unicorns, spread-eagels, swans and other, made of suger past, som wines and spicats in their bellies to draw at, and succets of all sorts cutt owt of their bellies to tast of; every one with his sylver forcke. To tell of all the order and particuler services and rarieties wear tedious; well-feasted, honnored, and much made of. I was conducted to my lodginge in manner as I was brought. Had my letters pattents, and a gentilman to conduct me thorow his countrye; with which I toke my leave. Some pastymes with lyons, bulls, and bares, straing to behold, I omytt to recite.

As I passed thorow Littuania, I received good enterteyment, and came to Smolenska, a great town of trade and the first bordered town in Russia. My old aquaintance and next neightbor in Musco, Knez Ivan Gollichen, now viovode and chieff governor there, loked sadd and somwhat streinge upon me. He, the Emperowr and prince protector, having heard of my cominge, beinge and enterteyment with Sigismondus king of Polland and the great prince of Littuania, would make my wælcom worss then I did expect; suffered me to pass, but sent word and news before me of my cominge, so that I was mett som tenn miells from the Musco by a sinaboarscoie, whoe brought and placed me in the bishops howse of Susdall, wher I was narrowly loked unto, not usuall, because I should have noe conferrence with the kinge of Pollandes ambassador, whoe came with an unplesinge earant, to demaund retitution of a great part of those southeren countries somtymes belonginge to the crown of Polland, and caried himself verie peremptarie: his negociacion goes onward and myne at a stey. Som of my aunctent frendes sende me secreat messages, by pore weomen,

there was an alteracion, I should loke wæll to myself. I was sent for; delivered the Quens letters to the Emperor: he delivers them to Andrew Shalkan, chieff officer of ambassages, noe frend of myne for Sir Jerom Bowes sake. The Emperower began to crie, silly prince, crossinge himself, saienge he never gave me cause of offence: somthinge trowbled him. I was hasted owt of his sight. The prince protector was not ther, nor could I hier from him untill one eavninge, passinge by my lodginge, he sent a gentilman to will me to com a horss-backe unto him under the inside of the Musco walls in a privat place. Comanded all apart; kissed me, as the maner is; told me he could not, for divers great causes, shew himself towards me so frendly and favorablie as he had done 'with tears.' I told him I was the more sorrie, my conscience bore me witnes I had given him noe cause of offence, but had ben ever faithfull, honnest and true, to him.—"Then let those soulls suffer that ar the occasioners of thy disalter and myne."—Spake som things not fitt to comitt to paper; toke leave, and bydd me be assured he would not suffer a heare to fall from my head—a phrace. Yet many warnings I had from my good frendes, though many wear gone and made awaye in my absence: many articles laied to my charge: exception against the Quens letters, stiell and seale, not as in former tymes, by which the Emperower was slighted, the Emporis sclandered; combynonacion with the king and prince of Polland; carrienge great treasur owt of the kingdome. All which I aunswered both fully and pithely, so as they leaft farther questioninge, and beyond their wills was so devulged as I gained bothe love and like of many therby. My water to dress my meat withall was poisoned, my drincke and herbs and mush-millians sent poisoned, my lainedress hired to poison me, which she confessed, by whome, when and howe; still I had good intelligence. My cooke, my butler, died both of poyson. I had a servant, a lordes sonne of Danzicke, 'Agacius Dusker,' burst

owt with twenty blaines and boyells, and escaped narowly. Ther wear to many streinge ambassodors for jeolocie to stey me in Musco. Boris sends me word I should not fear. The Emperowr and counsall would have me remove for a whille to Yeraslave, 250 miells thence. Many other things past not worth the writinge; somtymes chearfull messages somtymes fearfull. God did miraculously preserve me. But, one nighte I comended my soull to God 'above other,' thinckinge verily the tyme of my end was com. One rapt at my gate at midnight. I was well furnished with pistolls and weapons. I and my servants, some 15, went with these weapons to the gate. "O my good frend, Jerom, innobled, lett me speake with you."—I saw by moen shine the Emperis brother, Alphonassy Nagoie, the late widow Emporis, mother to the yonge prince Demetrius, who wear placed but 25 miells thence at Ogletts. "The Charowich Demetries is dead;[1] his throate was cutt aboute the sixth hower by the deackes [*diacks*]; some one of his pagis confessed upon the racke by Boris his settinge one; and the Emporis poysoned and upon pointe of death: her hear and naills and skin falls of; hælp and geave some good thinge for the passion of Christ 'his' sake."—"Alas! I have nothinge worthe the sendinge."—I durst not open my gacts. I ran up, fætched a littell bottell of pure sallett oyell (that littel vial of balsom that the Quen gave me), and a box of Venice treacle: "Here is what I have! I praie God it maye do her goòd."—Gave it over the wall; who hied him post awaie. Imedialy the wætchmen in the streets raised the towne, and told how the prince Demetrius was slaine. Som fower daies before, the suberdes of the Musco was sett one fier and twelve thowsand howses burnt. Boris his guard had the spoille, and fower or five souldiers suborned, desperatt fellowes hired to indure the racke, confessed, and so was published that the Chariwich

[1] [The assassination of the young prince Demetrius took place in May 1591.]

Demetrius, his mother the Emporis, and the Nagaies their famillie, had hiered them to kill the Emperowr and Boris Fedowich and sett the Musco one fier. This was so published to move the peoplls harts to hatred against the prince, his mother and famillie. But it was to gross a falshode, and abhorred of all men in generall; as God did not longe after recompenc and revenge with as fearfull and palpable an example, to shew that he is just in all his doings, and turns the wicked devices and divlish præctices of men to open shame and confusion. The bishop of Crutetscoie was sent, acompanied with 500 gonners and divers noblmen and gentilmen, to bury this prince Demetrius under the high aulter in St. Johns, I take it, in Ougletz. Littell did they thincke at that tyme that this Demetrius ghost should in so shortt a tyme be stirred up, to the dissolucion of Borris Fedowich and all his famillie. The sicke poysoned Emporis was presently to be shoren a nun, to save her sowll by sequestringe her liff, made dead to the world: all her allies, brothers, unckells and frendes, officers and servants, disperst in displeasur to divers secreat denns, not to see light againe.

Tyme coms I must awaye: som letters they saye shalbe sent after me, from the Emperor and Boris Fedorowich. Many odd ends, depts and furnitur I had, lieing desperatt, which I would be glad to have with me, and good soms of mony in Boris his handes. Writs his letters, yeat extant. He could not do as he would by me; would worcke me grace and favour in as ample manner as ever it was; but ther wear stomblinge blocks to be removed first. In the mean, if I wear impared of mony, he would send me owt of his own treasur. A pencioner was sent to atend me down Dwina, and so aboard the ships, wher I was as glad to be as Sir Jerom Bows was when he escaped thence; and many noblemen wished me their service and in no wors case.

I arived in England, thanckes be to God! in health and saffe. Came to the Quen; delivered my letters; and found

them a great deall more better and frendlier then expected for. The Company and I made even of all things ever past betwen us, by compramis of fower woorthy personages. They paid me for my stocke and goods found due in their hands 1845 li. A generall release,'*anno* 1589,'[1] discharge and acquittances, past each other handes and sealls verie athenticall, by their governors, Sir George Barn and Sir John Hartt, who in the name of their fellowship presented me, for a finall and frindly partinge, a goodly guilt bowll with cover: all which, with their comissions and instructions, letters, privaleges and matters of great consequent that had past betwen us, ar extant; and also the copies of the Quens letters, comissions and instructions, and the like for all forren negociacions and imploiments that hath past from tyme to tyme, verie memorable, and worthe the sight and readinge; some passages wherof ar sett down longe since by Mr. Hackluett in his booke of vioages;[2] som by Mr. Camden; and most by Doctor Flætcher, more scolastically[3]—the originall natur and disposicion of the Russ people, the lawes, languages, goverment, discipline for their church and comonwealth, reveynes, comodities, climatt and sittuacion, wherof it most consists, and with whom they have most leag and comers —with all which I did furnish him—in a treatice of itself. For the other two treatacis I promised of Polland, Littuania, Livonia, Hungaria, Transsilvania, Garmania, the Higher

[1] [A marginal note by another hand; but obviously inconsistent with previous dates.]

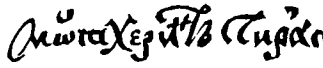
[2] [The words "som by Sir Robert Cotton" were originally inserted, but were subsequently erased. The work of Camden's referred to is doubtless his "History of Queen Elizabeth," where he gives occasional notices of negotiations between the English and Russian courts. We are unable to confirm Horsey's statement that he furnished Dr. Fletcher with the materials for his "Russe Commonwealth." Dr. Hamel, in his "England and Russia," p. 225, states that he had met with the original notes designed by Horsey for Fletcher's use. We suspect, however, that the present "Narrative" is the work he intends to designate, as he quotes frequently from it, but from no other MS. of Horsey's.]

[3] By reason of some inferencis owt of other histories.

Cantons and the Lower, the seaventine United Provinces, Denmarck, Norway and Swethia, accordinge to my collections, knowledg and instructions, I have also severally discoursed of, to the end it maie apear to my frendes I have spent my tyme with great desier of inquirie to ateyne to perfection and knowledg, and readie to geav an account to them, in love, of any thinge they shall farther requier.

And yet I may not leave this storie so bereafed of som more discourse that necessarily dependethe to the former, though perpetrated and done after my tyme; the consequence beinge so verie materiall, to thend Godes most just jugments maibe also made knowen to follow those fowll and wicked demeariths, which the innocent bloud spilt in that smotheringe tyme of tiranie did call for, from his most almightie power; whose exampells never faileth, to the comfort of his ellect; the just punishments of such as for want of grace do give themselves over to a reprobate sence, to follow the divells intisments and their own wicked wills and ambicious desiers. For the veritie and truth therof I would not have the reader to doupt.

You have hærd, and but som parte neither, of the cruell, barberous and tirannicall reign of the Emperowr Ivan Vasillewich; how he lived, what infinet inocent bloud he spilt, and what horable sinnes did not he comitt and delight in; what his end and his eldest sonnes was, and how he leaft a sillie sonn, the true proverbe of Sallomon, of more then weake capacitie, to govern so great a monarchie, by which the effucion of so much mor bloud also followed; he made awaye, and his third sonn, ten years of age, a sharp-witted and hopeful prince, his throat cutt; and the race of that bloudly generacion, continewinge above 300 years, cutt of and now utterly rooted owt, extinguished and end in bloud. Come now to the usurper, called in their language



Burris Fedorowich Goddonove. I praic loke a

littell backe and remenber how I leaft him. I received letters from my aunchient and verie woorthy frendes, and other good advertisments thence, extant to shewe, and have since had conferrence with two severalle ambassodors and a frier of good intilligence, how the state of that kingdom and goverment stode. Boris and his famillie, as you have hærd, agrowinge mighty and verie powerfull, supressinge and opressinge by digres, and makinge awaye, most of the chieffe and aunchient nobillitie, whome he had wonderfully dispenced, long tormented with all impunitie, to make himself redouptable and fearfull, removes also now the Emperowr himself, Feodor Ivanowiche, and his sister the Empowris into a monestarie, tho himself was Emperor in effect before; causethe the patriarcke, metrapolletts, bishops and friers, and other the new upspringe nobillitie, his officers, merchants, and all other his own creaturs, to peticion unto him to take the crown upon him. Their fear and tyme apointed, he was sollemply inagrated and crowned, and stilled, from a gentilman, with open acclamation, Borris Fedorowich, Emperowr and great duke of Vollcdemeria, Musquo and of all Russia, kinge of Casan, kinge of Astracan, king of Seberia, and the rest described. He is of comly person, wæll favored, affable, easy and apt to eyll counsaill, but daingerous in thend to the geaver; of good capacitie, about 45 years of age, affected much to negramoncie, not lerned, but of sudden aprehencion, and a naturall good orator to deliver his mynde with an audiable voice; suttell, verie precipitate, revengfull, not geaven much to luxurie, temperatt of diett, heroicall in owtward shew; gave great enterteynment to forren ambassodors, sent riche presents to forren princes. The more to illustrate and sett forth his fame, desired, above all other kings and princes, amitie and firm leage with the Emperowr of Almania, and the kinge of Denmarcke; the Sithian Cham, the kinge of Polland and the kinge of Swethia his enimies, and to them did adheer all

those that did not love him, which became his ruen. He continewed the same kinde and course of goverment he hæld before, only made shew to geave more generall aplaud, securitie and libertie, to his subjects. Still fearinge his own continewance and saffetie, desired to match his daughter, for more streinght, with the kinge of Denmarcks third sonn, Harticque Hans; condicions and terms and all agreed upon, contract, aparrell, state and tyme apointed for solempnicinge the mariage; a valurous, wise and hopefull yonge prince, by whome and by whose allics and means the Emperowr thought to worcke woonders. But God upon a sudden sicknes toke awaye his lieff.; died in the Musco. The marriage, his hoep and purpose, all prevented. Not longe after, he was put to extream exigents by the Crim, the Poll and the Sweden, all invadinge and warringe upon each their borders and confines.

But, to omytt many other strainge passages and præctices betwen him, his nobillitie and peopl, and to come nearer to his dismall tyme and strainge catastraphie that befæll him, his partakers and all his designes, you have formerly hærd of one Bodan Bælscoie, the great favorett and minion to that great Emperowr Ivan Vazillewich, with whom he served this Emperower his trusty turn and tyme, in makinge way to that was aymed at. Noen so famillier nor inward, noen so powerfull nor better able to achive or bringe to pass the subverscion of his greatest enimies, the nobillitie and others that favored him not. But he was rewarded with such a recompence as comonly followeth such træcherous instruments. This Emperor himself, his sister the Emperis, and all their famillie and frends, stode in fear of his suttell worckinge will; found means and many fained occasions to be ridd of his presenc; placed him and his confederats farr of and saffe enough, as they thought, in displeasur to worcke or præctice any more mischieff in that state. Yet the infinite treasur and mass of monyes which he had gotton and conveyed awaye in the

tyme of his greatnes, and fear of continewance, served him in such good stead for his purpose of revenge, now escaped, joininge with many other discontented nobles and men of might, not only to suplie but also to stirr up the kinge of Polland and greatest pallentines and princes of power in Littuania. Whoe, with but a mean army, assured of all sufficient power upon their arivall in Russia, gave owt that they had brought the pleasinge tidings unto them for their redempcion, the right and true heir to the crown and kingdom, Demetrius Emperor, Ivan Vazillewich his slaine sonn by the præctice of this usurped Emperowr Borris Fedorowich; whoe miraculously, by the devine will of God and marcie of his distressed people, was preserved alive and present in this army aproachinge the cittie of Musquo, for their comfortt and delivorie. Borris Emperowr prepares, as tyme would permitt, armes, with all his trustiest frendes and nobles; had men, munición, artillerie and all other provicion aboundantly, but wanted courage and harts to fight, which killed his hart; nothinge availled against the tyme that was com. The prince pallintine that had the leadinge of the army, Demetrius newly revived, and many other of name, besiges and blockes up the Musco round; noe hoep of escapinge. The Emperowr Boris Fedorowich, the Emporis his wiff, sonn and daughter, toke all their pocions and poison, laied their heads all together lienge upon one flower; three of them burst and presently died; and the sonn, languishinge, was, by som of the greatest of that famillie, to prove, pacific and settell the myndes of the distracted people, proclaymed Ivan Borrissowich, Emperowr of all Russia, etc., but soen after departed this liff. Then the people longed the more for this innovacion and to see their slaine Demetrius. The gaetts of the Musquo wear made open; Demetrius with his army enters.

The cittie possest, he placed in the pallace and inner castell, all prelatts and people come and swear obedience; proclaimed

and crowned Emperowr and great duke of all Russia, beinge but an apostur [impostor] and counterfeit, sonn to a priest that carried *aqua vita* to sell about the country. The people murmeringe at this chainge, and mightely discontented for the boldnes and incurscion of the Poolls, havinge now masterie of the cittie, proclamacion was made to stopp and stey the peoples outrages, tongs and furies. Which to pacefie, the pallentine, chieff viovode, he that had countenance and grace of leadinge this Pollish army and bringinge in this counterfeit Demetrius, was inforced, for his saffetie and hold there, to marrye his daughter to this Emperowr Demetrius, and so she became Emporis. The Polls, a haughty nacion and a verie insultinge people upon advantage, began so to domeneer over the Russ nobillitie and to interupt their religion, pervert their justice, begann to tirranies, opress, ranzicke and make havocke of the treasurs, rootts owt Borris his fæction and posterite, puts many of them to shamfull deathes and ransoms, and carries themselves as conquerors; so that the Russ nobillitie, metrapolletts, bishops, friers, and all sorts of people, much repininge and murmeringe at this new kynde of goverment and alteracion, take oportunitie and head to vanquish and supress the Polls insolencies, putt aside their fæction, a houndred souldiers for one; so that ther became a wounderfull confused estate betwen them. The kinge and princis of Polland, alwaies enymies to the Muscovetts, takes nowe oportunitie of that advantage: prepares an army to kepe possession of this crown and country. In the meane, the Russ setts upon this counterfett Emperor Demetrius one day, kylls his guard, takes him from his wieffs bead, the Emporis; drags him owt upon the tarras. The gonnors and souldiers thrust their knives in him, hæckes, hews and mangells his head, leggs and body, caries it into the marckett-place, shews it for three daies space about the cittie, the people flockinge and cursinge him and the traitors that brought him; dispatches this pallatine and his

daughter the Emporis and the Pollish souldiers with more humanitie then they deserved; procead to the ellection and nominatinge of a new Emperower of their own tribe. Two wear spoken of, Knez Ivan Fedorowich Misthisloscoye and Knez Vazilley Suskoie: they both made in this turbulant tyme very timorous to take it; betwen the Poll and them fræctions, and fæctions among themselves; all owt of jointe, not lickly to be reduced a longe tyme to any good form of peaceable goverment. Yet a crown and kingdom did most tempt the more willinger therunto, which was Knez Vazillye Petrowich Suscoie, a valliant and most generus prince, third brother to that noble duke Knez Ivan Suscoie, made awaye and smothered, as you have hærd. This duke was crowned and inaugorated with generall aplaud and great solempnitie, after their aunchient manner and custom; named Knez Vazilly Petrowich, Emperor and great duke of all Russia, with the rest of all his stiell and titells. He and his people betakes to arm, not only to free their thraldoms but also to expelle the Pollanders and prepare against a new invacion threatend.

This new Emperor, Knez Vazilly, was summoned as a vassall by a harauld at arms to yeld obedience to the crown of Polland, whoe had now gotton and stielled as a conquered adicion the monarchie and great dukdome of all Russia, and would not so soon nor slightly leave it, and had many Demetrius in store to mainteyn the same titell; noe reasons, capittulacions nor fare defencive aunswers, should prevaille. The Pollander striekes the yron whiells it was hott; had gotton good foatinge and interest emonge the tired nobles and wearied people of Russia, whoe were now marvelously wæll pleased and contented with their Emperor Knez Vazilly and his kingly goverment, praisinge God for the continewance of the same. But God denyes their desiers, hath yet a farther plague and scourge at hand for this perfidious and unhallowed genoracion. The Poll comes with

his couragius and now flæshed armye, assaults the fainte-harted armyes and townes of the Muscovetts; many captaines and gallant soldiers ar slaine one bothe sides. The Polls have the victorie and conquest and posession of the Musquo againe, many put to the sword. The Emperower Knez Vazillie taken prisoner, and divers nobles caried with him captives; kept straight and strongly in the castell of Vilna, the capitall citie of Littuania. The [they] now begine to insult and tiranies more over the Russ then before; seasses of their goods, mony, treasur and wælth; many conveyes great buties and treasur into Polland and Littuania. But those hidden by the old Emperowr Ivan Vazilewich, and Emperowr Borris Fedorowich, in such unknowen secreat places noe doupt of remains yet much undiscovered, by reason the parties trusted and imploied therin wear alwaies made awaye. The Russ submytts and becoms vassalls, and acknowledges the kinge of Polland their Emperowr and lord, and desier by a very athenticall instrument and sollemn manner, remayninge for ever in reccord of their crown, his sonn to com and be crowned their Emperowr and kinge, and to live amonge them in the famous cittie of Musquo. Which the king would 'not' hærckon unto nor trust them with the person of his sonn; neither would their nobles, beinge volluntarie lordes, do that crown that wronge to disposess it of so hoepfull a succession, nor the enymie so much honnor, but to geave them by their precidents from tyme to tyme such lawes and ruells as maye subdue and govern at their wills, untill a farther settled resolucion should be determined of. They putt on pacience, and indured with much hart burninge untill they found a remeadie for their more fredom. The inrodes and invacions of the Tartor Crim troubled the Poll much; but the insurections and incurcions of the Lugavoie, Nagoie and Mordevite, Tartors and Chercasses, and their princes and rullers, beinge good and hardie souldiers, all horssmen, as subjects longe settled in the obei-

dienc of the Russ Emperowrs and best used of all other nacions by them, beinge now oprest and streightned of their wonted good usage, hated the Pooll and his usurped goverment, stode the Russ and themselves now in most oportun stead. They toke head and arms in great nombers, besett the Polls, and so indaingored their saffeties, robbinge, spoillinge and killinge so many of them, as they wear forced to hastten and pack them with their treasur and buties with as much expedicion as they could. They freed the countrie of them.

The nobillitie leaft, the clargie and all sortts of people, toke good courage and hart again; begane to fram a settlead estate and goverment amonge themselves; discharged the Pollanders and other straingers and disclaimed their subjection, not without some good causions and conditions neither. Though loseninge the bitt, yet left som hold of the reyns upon their bordered towns and territories of aunchient belonginge to the crown of Polland. Their last Emperowr, Knez Vazilly Suscoye, much lamented, cannot be ranzomed, kept still in a misserable prisson. They bethink them of another Emperowr; so great a people and monarchie cannot subsist withoute a head and great governor. You have heard in the begininge of Borris Fedorowich his protectorship, loth to have any competitor greater then himself, the Emperowers unckell, Mckita Romanowich, was bewiched, his tonge and speach, and after his liff taken awaye, upon magicque or eill imaginacion, or by bothe. His eldest sonn, Feodore Micketich, of a valiant and hopeful prince was shoren a frier and made a yonge bishop of Rostove, and now they saye patriarck of Musco; who had a sonn before he was exposed to that monnestarie liff. This his sonn is now placed and crowned Michall Fedorowich, Emperower and great duke of all Russia, in the succession of his aunchestors, with the generall aplaud, like and consent, of all estates of the kingdom. God send him longe to reigne with much

more saffetie, happines, peace and better success, then his predicessors hath done. For he cometh upon great disadvantage, of all other, for want of treasur, all being confiscated, and other roiall means to uphold and mainteyne his crown and goverment; and yet goes on, and makes it as feacable, with as much dæxteritie as the grave advice of his holly fathers great experience and tyme will permitt. Whose pleasur was, owt of his love, in his yong years, to have me make, in the Sclavonian carrector, in Latten wordes and phraises, a kynde of grammer, wherin he toke great delight: and as I hier saye, which I cannot omytt to repeat so woorthy a part and reportt, the famous company of English marchants that trade those countries hath offered him, the said Emperowr, of late, the lone of a houndred thowsand powndes, towardes the suplie of his Majestys great occasions; a remenbrance of their thanckfullnes verie comendable for the love and favour his aunchestors hath alwaies shewed towardes them.

How the estate of things since and now standes in those countries I must referr you to the relacion of Sir Thomas Smyth,[1] some tyme imploied ther, and especially to Sir John Merricke[2] his knowledge, a man of great imploiment and long experience in those partes. Some imbassages hathe interpassed of late years more abusivly then comodious, only to serve private endes, as the common reportt goes.

Thus, fearinge I have wearied your pacience with the tediousnes of these collections, though much more might be said and amplified, have forboren to incert and add som propper inferrences for explanacion of such names, parenthices

[1] [See "Sir Thomas Smithes Voyage and Entertainment in Russia," etc.; 4to., London, 1605.]

[2] [Sir John Meyrick was principal agent of the Russia Company at Moscow in 1596, and during many years following. He was employed in missions to and from the Russian Court; was knighted by James I, and was sent by him as embassador to Russia in 1615, to mediate a peace between Russia and Sweden. See Hamel, p. 374, *et seq.*]

and t[erms], as you have not ben used to read, especially in so scribled a hand; leavinge it to your more matur deliberacion to conceave, not without admiracion, in regard no historie makes mencion of the like, of the strainge passages which God, in his devine pleasur, doth permite for the sins of the world to be perpetrated in the inequitie and influence of wicked mans so shortt a tyme.

Since chainginge another course, I have lived for above thirtie years space in that fruetfull region of Bucking[ham]-shire, servinge in all comissions with my best endevours and painestakinge to discharge the dutie of an honnest justice of peace, hight shirriff of the same; wherin I have found much favour and love, both from judges and justices and gentilmen, and of all other sorts; geavinge the magistrates but their due, [who] govern religiously with great humanitie, 'good discrecion, and jugment;'[1] through Gods blissinge the influence and extraordinarie paynes-takinge and preachinge of the Gospell thorow the wholl countrie, by most woorthy, lerned, godly, and holly devines, planted and placed amonge them. God prosper them; and longe maye it so continewe!

Havinge also served above thirtie years continuance in parliament, the experience of this wicked world, both at home and abroad, makes me now the more willinge to live in a better. In the mean I must be contented, as an old shipp that hath done good service, to be laied up in the dock unriged; and to saye truly that all the knowen nacions and kingdoms of the world ar not comparable for happines to this thrice blissed nacion, and angellicall kingdom of Cannan, our England. And so I take leave of all other experienc and knowledge in this liff, and hold of this true *adagium*, *Si Christum* (sic) *sis, nihill est si cetera non sis.*

[1] [Originally "without corupcion, indued with many morrall virtues and civill condicions;" but these words have been erased.]

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

[*From Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations, Voyages, etc., of the English Nation;" ed. London*, 1809-1812, *vol.* i, *p.* 525.]

THE MOST SOLEMNE AND MAGNIFICENT CORONACION OF PHEODOR IVANOWICH, EMPEROUR OF RUSSIA, ETC., THE TENTH OF JUNE, IN THE YEERE 1548, SEENE AND OBSERVED BY MASTER JEROM HORSEY, GENTLEMAN, AND SERVANT TO HER MAJESTY, A MAN OF GREAT TRAVELL AND LONG EXPERIENCE IN THOSE PARTS: WHERWITH IS ALSO JOYNED THE COURSE OF HIS JOURNEY OVER LAND FROM MOSCO TO EMDEN.

The death of Ivan Vasiliwich, 1584, April 18.

WHEN the old Emperour, Ivan Vasiliwich, died (being about the eighteenth of Aprill[1] 1584, after our computation), in the citie of Mosco, having raigned 54 yeeres, there was some tumult and uprore among some of the nobilitie and cominaltie, which, notwithstanding, was quickly pacified. Immediatcly, the same night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonova, Knez Ivan Pheodorowich Mesthisslafsky, Knez Ivan Petrowich Susky, Mekita Romanowich, and Bodan Jacoulewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefest in the Emperor's will (especially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third sonne, and was brother to the Empresse, who was a man very wel liked of al estates, as no lesse worthy for his valure and wisedome), all these were appointed to dispose and settle his sonne Pheodor Ivanowich, having one sworne another, and all the nobilitie and officers whosoever. In the morning the dead Emperor was layd into the church of Michael the Archangel, into a hewen sepulchre,

L. Boris adopted as the Emperors third sonne.

[1] [An error for *March*.]

very richly decked with vestures fit for such a purpose; and present proclamation was made—Emperor Pheodor Ivanowich, of all Russia, &c. Throughout all the citie of Mosco was great watch and ward, with souldiers and gunners; good orders established, and officers placed to subdue the tumulters and mainteine quietnes. To see what speede and policie was in this case used was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in Mosko, great men of birth and accompt were also presently sent to the bordering townes, as Smolensko, Vobsco, Kasan, Novogorod, &c., with fresh garrison, and the old sent up. As upon the fourth of May a parliament was held, wherein were assembled the metropolitane, archbishops, bishops, priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobility whatsoever; where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended to a new reformation in the government: but especially the terme and time was agreed upon for the solempnizing of the new Emperor's coronation.

The old Empresse her father, and her yong sonne, sent to Ouglets.

In the mean time the Empresse, wife to the old Emperor, was, with her child, the Emperor's sonne, Chariewich Demetrie Ivanowich, of one yeres age or there abouts, sent with her father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, and that kindred, being five brothers, to a towne called Ouglets; which was given unto her and the young prince her sonne, with all the lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sortes appointed, having allowance of apparell, jewells, diet, horse, etc., in ample maner, belonging to the estate of a princesse. The time of mourning, after their use, being expired, called *sorachyn*, or fortie orderlie dayes, the day of

The day of Pheodor his coronation.

the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being upon the tenth day of June, 1584, and that day, then Sunday, he being of the age of 25 yeres; at which time Master Jerom Horsey was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnitie. The Emperor comming out of his palace, there went before him the metropo-

litan, archbishops, bishops, and chiefest monkes and clergie men, with very rich copes and priestes garments upon them, carrying pictures of our ladie, &c., with the Emperours angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperour, with his nobilitie, in order entred the church named Blaveshina or Blessednes, where prayers and service were used according to the maner of their church. That done, they went thence to the church called Michael the Archangell, and there also used the like prayers and service; and from thence to our Lady church, Prechista, being their cathedrall church. In the middest thereof was a chair of majestie placed, wherein his aunccstors used to sit at such extraordinarie times. His robes were then changed, and most rich and unvaluable garments put on him. Being placed in this princely seate, his nobility standing round about him in their degres, his imperiall crowne was set vpon his head by the metropolitane, his scepter, globe, in his right hand, his sword of justice in his left, of great riches; his six crownes also, by which he holdeth his kingdomes, were set before him; and the Lord Borish Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand. Then the metropolitan read openly a booke of small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true justice, to injoy with tranquilitie the crowne of his aunccstors, which God had given him; and used these words following;

"Through the will of the Almighty and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all every where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working he both liveth and giveth life to man, that our only God which enspireth every one of us, his only children, with his word to discerne God through our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perilous times establish us to keep the right scepter, and suffer us to raigne of our-

selves, to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and the maintenance of vertue." And so the metropolitan blessed and layd his crosse upon him.

After this he was taken out of his chaire of majestie, having upon him an upper robe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantitie, but alwayes augmented in riches. It was in waight two hundred pounds; the traine and parts thereof borne up by six dukes. His chiefe imperiall crowne upon his head, very precious; his staffe imperiall in his right hand, of an unicornes horne of three foot and a halfe in length, beset with rich stones, bought of merchants of Ausburge, by the old Emperor, in *anno* 1581, and cost him 7000 markes sterling. This jewel M[aster] Horsey kept sometimes before the Emperor had it. His scepter globe was caried before him by the Prince Boris Pheodorowich; his rich cap, beset with rich stones and pearles, was caried before him by a duke; his six crownes also were caried by Demetrius Ivanowich Godonova, the Emperors uncle, Mekita Romanowich, the Emperors uncle, Stephan Vasiliwich, Gregory Vasiliwich, Ivan Vasiliwich, brothers of the blood royal. Thus at last the Emperor came to the great church doore, and the people cried, "God save our Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich of al Russia!" His horse was there ready, most richly adorned with a covering of imbrodered pearle and precious stones, saddle and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300,000 markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150 fadome in length, three maner of waies, three foote above ground, and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one church to the other, with his princes and nobles, from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the churches they were spred under foot with cloth of gold,

the porches of the churches with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet, and stammell cloth from one church to another. And as soone as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, velvet and scarlet, was cut, and taken of those that could come by it; every man desirous to have a piece, to reserve it for a monument. Silver and gold coyne, then mynted of purpose, was cast among the people in great quantitie. The Lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with al sortes of precious stones. In like rich maner were appareled all the family of the Godonovaes in their degrees, with the rest of the princes and nobilitie; whereof one named Knez Ivan Michalowich Glynsky, whose robe, horse and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empresse, being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of majesty, also before a great open window. Most precious and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones and orient pearle beset; her crowne was placed upon her head; accompanied with her princesses and ladies of estate. Then cried out the people, "God preserve our noble Empresse Irenia!"

After all this, the Emperour came into the parliament house, which was richly decked. There he was placed in his royall seat, adorned as before; his six crownes were set before him, upon a table; the basin and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of gard, with his men standing two on each side, in white apparell of cloth of silver, called *kindry*, with scepters and battle-axes of gold in their hands. The princes and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees, all in their rich roabs.

The Emperour, after a short oration, permitted every man, in order, to kisse his hande; which being done, he removed to a princely seate prepared for him at the table, where he was served by his nobles in very princely order. The three

out roomes, being very great and large, were beset with plate of gold and silver round, from the ground up to the vauts, one vpon the other; among which plate were many barrels of silver and golde. This solemnitie and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and used. After which, the chiefest men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office and dignitie: as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe counseller to the Emperor, master of the horse, had the charge of his person, livetenant of the empire and warlike engines, governor or livetenant of the empire of Cazan and Astracan and others. To this dignitie, were, by parliament and gift of the Emperor, given him many revenues and rich lands; as there was given him and his, for ever to inherite, a province called Vaga, of 300 English miles in length, and 250 in bredth, with many townes and great villages, populous and wealthy. His yecrely revenue out of that province is 35 thousand markes sterling, being not the fifth part of his yerely revenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie and power, that in 40 dayes warning they are able to bring into the fielde 100 thousand souldiers well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperors coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall, two miles without the citie, being 170 great pieces of brasse of all sorts, as faire as any can be made. These pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarks made of purpose. Twenty thousand harqubusers, standing in eight rankes two miles in length, appareled all in velvet, coloured silke and stammels, discharged their shot also twise over in good order. And so the Emperor, accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the least 50 thousand horse, departed through the city to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time and many leaves of paper to be described particularly as it was performed. It shal suffice to understand that the like magnificence was never seene in Russia.

The coronation and other triumphes ended, al the nobilitie, officers and merchants, according to an accustomed order, every one in his place and degree, brought rich presents unto the Emperor, wishing him long life and joy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Jerom Horsey aforesaid, remayning as servant in Russia for the Queenes most excellent Majestie, was called for to the Emperor, as he sate in his imperiall seat. And then also a famous merchant of Netherland being newly come to Mosco (who gave him selfe out to be the King of Spaines subject) called John de Wale, was in like sort called for. Some of the nobilitie would have preferred this subject of the Spaniard before Master Horsey, servant to the Queene of England; wherunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying he would have his legges cut off by the knees before he would yeeld to such an indignitie offered to his soveraigne the Queenes Majesty of England, to bring the Emperor a present in course after the King of Spaines subject or any other whatsoever. The Emperor and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich, perceiving the controversie, sent the Lord Treasorer Peter Ivanowich Galavyn, and Vasili Shalkan, both of the counsell, to them; who delivered the Emperor backe Master Horseys speech. Whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted, and presented the Emperor, in the behalfe of the English merchants trading thither, a present, wishing him joy and long to raigne in tranquilitie; and so kissed the Emperors hand: he accepting the present with good liking, and avouching that, for his sisters sake, Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her merchants, in as ample maner as ever his father had ben. And, being dismissed, he had the same day sent him seventy dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with three carts laden with al sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the foresayd subject of the Spanish King admitted with his present; whom the Emperor

John de Wale.

willed to be no lesse faithfull and serviceable vnto him then the Queene of Englands subjects were and had bene, and then the King of Spaines subjects should receive favour accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed, praises were sung in all the churches. The Emperor and Empresse very devoutly resorted on foote to many principal churches in the citie, and upon Trinitie Sunday betook themselves to a progresse, in order of procession, to a famous monasterie called Sergius and the Trinitie,[1] sixty miles distant from the citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge army of noblemen, gentlemen and others, mounted upon goodly horses, with furniture accordingly.

The Empresse of devotion tooke this journey on foot all the way, accompanied with her princesses and ladies, no small number. Her guard and gunners were in number 20,000; her chiefe counsellor or attendant was a noble man of the blood roial, her uncle of great authoritie, called Demetrie Ivanowich Godonova. All this progresse ended, both the Emperor and Empresse returned to Mosco. Shortly after, the Emperor, by the direction of the Prince Boris Pheodorowich, sent a power into the land of Siberia, where all the rich sables and furres are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe 1000 miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperor of the country, called Chare Sibersky, and with him many other dukes and noble men, which were brought to Mosko with a guard of souldiers and gunners; who were received into the cittie in very honorable maner, and do there remaine to this day.

Chare Siberski, prince of Siberia, taken prisoner and brought to Mosco.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, judges, justices, captains and lieutenants, through the whole kingdom were removed, and more honest men substituted in their places, with expresse commandement, under severe punishment, to surcease their old bribing and extortion which they had used in the

[1] [The famous Tröitskoi-Monastere.]

old Emperors time, and now to execute true justice without respect of persons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly stipends were augmented. The great taskes, customes and duties, which were before layd upon the people in the old Emperors time, were now abated, and some wholly remitted, and no punishments commanded to be used without sufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capitall, deserving death. Many dukes and noblemen of great houses, that were under displeasure and imprisoned twenty yeeres by the old Emperor, were now set at libertie and restored to their lands; all prisoners were set at libertie and their trespasses forgiven. In summe, a great alteration universally in the government folowed; and yet all was done quietly, civilly, peaceably, without trouble to the prince or offence to the subject: and this bred great assurance and honour to the kingdom; and all was accomplished by the wisedome especially of Irenia the Empresse.

These things being reported and caried to the eares of the kings and princes that were borderers upon Russia, they grew so fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians, called the Crimme Tartar, or great Can himselfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne countrey to the Emperor of Russia, accompanied with a great number of his nobilitie, well horsed. Although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men and valiant. Their comming was gratefull to the Emperor, and their entertainment was honourable. The Tartar prince having brought with him his wives also, received of the Russe Emperor entertainment and princely welcome according to their estates.

Sophet Keri Alli, king of the Crimmes, arrival at Mosco.

Not long after, 1200 Polish gentlemen, valiant souldiors and proper men, came to Mosko offring their service to the Emperor, who were all entertained; and in like sort many Chirkasses, and people of other nations, came and offred

service. And as soone as the report of this new created Emperor was spread over other kingdoms of Europe, there were sent to him sundry ambassadors to wish him joy and prosperitie in his kingdome. Thither came ambassadors from the Turke, from the Persian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came also ambassadors from the Emperor of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, etc. And, since his coronation, no enemie of his hath prevailed in his attempts.

The new Emperor Pheodore Ivannowich his letters and requests to the Queene.

It fell out, not long after, that the Emperor was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of England; for which service he thought no man fitter then M[aster] Jerome Horsey; supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subjects would be the more acceptable to her. The summe of which message was, that the Emperor desired a continuance of that league, friendship, amitie and intercourse of traffique, which was between his father and the Queens majestie and her subjects, with other private affaires besides, which are not to be made common.

Master Horseis voiage from Mosco to England overland.

Master Horsey having received the letters and requests of the Emperor, provided for his journey over land, and departed from Mosco the fift day of September. Thence unto Otver, to Torshook, to Great Novogrod, to Vobsky; and thence to Nyhouse in Livonia, to Wenden, and so to Riga; (where he was beset, and brought foorthwith before a cardinall called Ragevil, but yet suffred to passe in the ende.) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou, in Curland; to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Prussia; to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland; to Rostock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by sea to London. Being arrived at her Majesties roiall court, and having delivered the Emperors letters with good favour and gracious acceptance, he was foorthwith againe commaunded to repasse into Russia, with other letters from her Majestie to the Emperor and Prince Boris Pheodorowich, answering the

Emperors letters, and withall requesting the favour and friendship which his father had yeelded to the English merchants: and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the merchants of London themselves of that company, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus dispatched from London by sea, he arrived in Mosco the 20 of April 1586, and was very 1586. honourably welcommed. And for the merchants behoofe obtained all his requests, being therein specially favoured by the noble prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected M[aster] Horsey with speciall liking. And, having obtained priviledges for the merchants, he was recommended from the Emperor againe to the Queene of England, his mistresse; by whom the prince Boris, in token of his honorable and good opinion of the Queens Majesty, sent her highnesse a roiall present of sables, luzarns, cloth of gold and other rich things. So that the companie of English merchants, next to their thankfulnes to her Majestie, are to account M[aster] Horseis paines their speciall benefit, who obtained for them those privileges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The maner of M[aster] Horseis last dispatch from the Emperor, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed post horses for him and his servants, victuals and all other necessaries for his long journey. At every towne that he came unto from Mosco to Vologda, which is by land five hundred miles, he received the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperors charge. New victuall and provision were given him upon the river Dwina at every towne by the kings officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new castle called Archangel, he was received of the Duke Knez Vasili Andrewich Isvenogorodsky, by the Emperors commission, into the castle, gunners being set in rankes after their use, where he was sumptuously feasted. From thence hee was dispatched with bountifull provision and allowance

in the Dukes boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentilman captaine of the gunners. Comming to the road where the English, Dutch, and French ships rode, the gunners discharged, and the ships shot in like manner 46 pieces of their ordnance; and so he was brought to his lodging at the English house upon Rose Island.

And that which was the full and complete conclusion of the favour of the Emperor and Boris Pheodorowich toward M[aster] Horsey, there were the next day sent him for his further provision upon the sea, by a gentleman and a captain, the things following;

16 live oxen.	2 swans.
70 sheepe.	65 gallons of mead.
600 hens.	40 gallons of *aqua vitæ*.
25 flitches of bacon.	60 gallons of beere.
80 bushels of meale.	3 yong beares.
600 loaves of bread.	4 hawkes.
2000 egs.	Store of onions and garlike.
10 geese.	10 fresh salmons.
2 cranes.	A wild bore.

All these things were brought him downe by a gentleman of the Emperors, and another of prince Boris Pheodorowich, and were received in order by John Frese, servant to M[aster] Horsey, together with an honorable present and reward from the prince Boris, sent him by M[aster] Francis Cherry,[1] an Englishman; which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of gold, and a faire paire of sables. This gentleman hath observed many other rare things concerning those partes, which hereafter (God willing) at more convenient time and laisure shall come to light.

[1] [Francis Cherry owed his introduction to Russia to the Russia Company, of which he rose to be a member. He was selected by the Emperor Ivan Vasilivitch for his English interpreter, and was subsequently employed in missions between the Russian and English courts. See Hamel, p. 302.]

Pheodore Ivanowich the new Emperors gracious letter of privilege to the English merchants, word for word; obtained by M[aster Jerome Horsey, 1586 [*Feb.* 1587].

Through the wil of the Almightie and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one only God, the Father, the Sonne and the Holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all every where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working he both loveth and giveth life to man, that our onely God, which inspireth every one of us his onely children with his word to descerne God through our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy quickening Spirit of life, now, in these perilous times, establish us to keep the right scepter, and suffer us of our selves to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We, Pheodore, the ofspring of John, the great Lord, Emperor, king and great prince of all Russia, of Volodemeria, Moscovia and Novogrod, king of Cazan, king of Astracan, lord of Plesko, and great prince of Smolensko, of Tver, Yougoria, Permia, Viatsko, of Bolghar and others, lord and great prince of the land of the Lower Novgorod, Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostow, Yeraslave, the White Lake, Liefland, Oudor, Condensa, and ruler of all Siberia, and all the Northside, and lord of many other countries.

I have gratified the merchants of England, to wit, Sir Rowland Haiward and Richard Martin, aldermen, Sir George Barnes, Thomas Smith, Esquire, Jerome Horsey, Richard Saltonstall, with their fellowes.

I have licensed them to saile with their shippes into our dominion, the land of Dwina, with all kind of commodities,

to trade freely and unto our kingdom and the citie of Mosco, and to all the cities of our empire of Moscovia.

And the English merchants, Sir Rowland Haiward and his societie, desired us that we would gratifie them to trade into our kingdom of Moscovia, and into our heritage of Great Novogrod and Plesko, and into all parts of our kingdom, to buy and sell with their wares without custome.

Therefore we, for our sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, and also because that they allege that they had great losse and hindrance by the venture of the sea, and otherwise, have gratified the said English merchants, Sir Rowland Haiward and his societie, freely to come into our kingdom of Muscovia and into al our dominions, with al kind of commodities, to trade and traffique freely and at their pleasure with all kind of their commodities. Also I have commanded not to take any maner of custome for their goods, nor other customs whatsoever; that is to say, neither for passing by any place by water, nor for lanching; neither for passing through any place by land; neither for the vessels or boats; nor for their heads; nor for passing over bridges; nor for ferying over at any place; neither for acknowledgment at any place where they shall come; nor any maner of custome or dutie, by what name soever.

Only they shall not bring with them into our dominions, neither recarie out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods but their owne, neither sell them nor barter them away for them.

Also our naturall people shall not buy and sell for them or from them; neither shal they retaine or keepe any of our naturall subjects goods or pawnes by them to colour them.

Also they shall not send any of their Russe servants about into any citie to ingrosse or buy up commodities; but into what citie they themselves shal come they shal buy and sel, and shall sel their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they shal come into our inheritance of Great

Novogrod and Plesko, and through all our dominions, with their commodities, then our noblemen and captains, and every one of our officers, shall suffer them to depart according to this our letter; and shall take no custom at all of them for any of their commodities, neither for passing through or passing by, nor for passage over any bridges; nor shall take of them any other dutie, whatsoever name they have.

Also, into what places of our dominion or when they shal happen to come, and to proceed to buy or sell, and wheresoever they shall passe through with goods, not buying of any commodities, neither will sell their owne, then in those cities and townes they shall take no maner of custome or dutie of them, accordingly as before.

And I have gratified them, and given them free leave to traffique throughout all the dominions of our kingdom in all cities with their goods, to buy and sell all maner of commodities without any dutie or custome whatsoever.

And the English merchants, where they are desirous to buy or sell or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they shall sell their commodities whole and not by retaile, that is to say, neither by small weight nor by the yard, to sell or barter in their owne houses; and they shal sel and barter their wares wholly,—cloth by the packe and by the whole cloth, and damaske and velvet by the piece and not by the yard; and al maner of commodities that are to be sold by the weight not to sell by the small weights, as by the pound and ounce, but by whole sale. Also they shall sell wines by the pipe; and by the gallon, quart or stoope they shal not sell.

And they shall buy, sell and exchange their owne commodities themselves; and the Russe merchants shall not make sales or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities; neither shall they themselves convey or cary through any other mans goods at no place instead of their

owne. And which of the English merchants will at any time sell his commodities at Colmogro or Vologda or Yeraslave, they may; and of their commodities throughout all our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captains and every of our officers, shall take no maner of custome, according as it is written in this our gracious letter. And, throughout all our dominions and cities, they shall hire carriers and vessels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to transport their goods.

So likewise, whensoever the English merchants are disposed to depart out of our kingdom into any other countrey or into their owne land, if our pleasure be, they shall take our goods with them from our treasurie, and shall sell them and exchange them for such commoditie as is commodious for our kingdom; and shall deliver it into our treasurie. And with those our commodities, our noblemen and captaines, and every of our officers, shall let them passe through all our cities also without custome, according to these our letters.

Also, whensoever the English merchants shall have sold their own goods and bought themselves commodities, and will depart out of Mosco, then they shal manifest themselves to our chief secretarie, Andrew Sholkalove, in the office where the ambassadors are alwayes dispatched.

And if the English merchants comming have had any mischance by the sea, insomuch that the ship be broken, or if that ship do come to any part of our countrey, then we will cause the goods to be sought out in true justice, and to be given to the English people, which at that time shall be here resident in our countrey. And if so be that it so fall out that at that time there be no Englishmen within our realme, then wil we cause these goods to be laid up in a place together, and when the people of England shall come into our realme, then we will command all those goods to be delivered to the sayd English people.

Also, we have gratified all the English merchants with the house of one Vrie here in the Mosco, right over against St. Maximes church behind the market; and they shal dwel in the same house according as before time; and they shall keepe one alwayes in the house to keepe it, either a Russe or one of their owne people.

Also, the English merchants shal possesse their houses; to wit, at Yeraslave, Vologda, Colmogro, and the house at the haven of the sea; and they shal dwell in those houses, according as our goodnes hath bene to them heretofore. And we have commanded that there shall not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no manere of custome, taxe, rent, or any other dutie whatsoever, for those houses; neither shal they pay any dutie or taxe with any of the townsmen of those places. And in every one of those houses, to wit, at Yeraslave, Vologda, and Colmogro, they shall have men to keepe their houses, two or three of their owne countrey people, strangers or els Russes, men of the meanest sort, which shall be no merchants, that they may lay their goods in those houses; and they may sell the commodities out of those their houses to whom they please, according to this our gracious letter. And those that keepe their houses shall not sell or buy no part of their commoditie, except they be there or give order, whereby they be not deceived by them.

So likewise, I have gratified them with their house at the sea haven, at the mouth of Podezemsky, and we have commanded that they shal not cary their goods from thence to the new castle S. Michael the Archangel, but shall arrive and do as they have done heretofore with their wares at that their house; and shall unlade their commodities out of their ships, and shal lade them againe with Russe commodities, even there at that their house without interruption: onely they shal permit our officers of Colmogro and sworn men to write up those commodities, both the commodities of England and those of Russeland, what the merchants shal

declare themselves, and no otherwise; but they shal not overlooke their commodities, neither shal they unbind any of their packs.

And when the English merchants are disposed to send into their owne countrey, to wit, any of their owne people, on land through any other kingdom whatsoever, they shall not send their people without our kingly knowledge and commandement; and which of their people so ever they do meane to send out of our kingdom into their owne countrey, then they shal send those their people not without our kingly majesties knowledge, to wit, those that go of pleasure, without carying any commodities with them; and they shal have a letter of passe given unto them, out of the office where the ambassadors have alwayes their dispatch.

And whosoever hath anything to doe with them in matters of controversie, either concerning merchandize or injuries, then they are to be judged by our treasurers and secretarie of the ambassadores office, to do justice between both parties, and to seek out the trueth of matters in al things; and whatsoever cannot be found out by the law shalbe tried by othe and lots; whose lot so ever is taken foorth, him to have right.

And in what place of all our kingdom, in what citie soever they or their people shall bee, and that there happen any matter of controversie, either concerning merchandise, injuries or otherwise, that they have occasion to set upon any man by lawe, or that any seeke upon them, concerning what matter soever, in all our kingdom and cities, then our lieutenants, captains and our officers, shall give them justice, and shall minister all true justice betweene them, seeking out the trueth. And what cannot be truly sought by law shalbe sought out by othe and lot; whose lot soever is taken out, him to have right accordingly as before. And the judges or justices shall take of them no kind of dutie for matters of law no where throughout all our realmes.

This letter is given in our princely palace within the citie of Mosco, in the yere from the foundation of the world seven thousand fourescore and fifteene, in the moneth of February.

No. II.

[*From the Cottonian MS., Nero B. xi, ff.* 363-374.]

A DISCOURSE OF THE SECOND AND THIRD IMPLOYMENTE OF MR. JEROME HORSEY, ESQUIRE, NOWE KNIGHTE, SENTE FROM HIR MAJESTIE TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSHEA, IN ANNO 1585 AND 1589.

Anno 1585 and 1589. IN the yeare 1585 I was sente over lande unto the Queenes most excelente Majestie from the Emperor of Rushea, Theodor Evanowich, and from the prince his protector, Boris Fedorowich, governor of the said emphire, to intreate hir Highnes for a contynuall peace, amytie and frendshipe, they beinge then newlye come, the one to his crowne the other to his governmente, with princely protestation and promis that they wold seeke by all meanes to deserve and preserve the same, as well by good usinge and shewinge large favore unto hir Majesties subjectes and marchantes trading into those kingdomes, as also by any other good meanes that it should please hir Highnes to geve occasyon for tryall thearof, etc. For confyrmacion and tryall whearof the sayd Emperor and prince had made choyse of one of hir Majesties owne subjectes, unto whom, as a man esteemed and greatly favored of them bothe, they had comytted the faithefull delyverye of this their said messuage and letteres. The which message and letteres it pleased hir moste exelente Majestie to embrace, and, aftere gratyous exceptacion gevene thearunto, it then pleased hir Highnes in lyke soarte to remyte and returne mee, hir Majestes servante, furneshed

with the lyke princely congratulations, letteres, etc. Wherwithe I departed, well attended, in the fyve of Aprille, and arryved at the Emperores courte in Musco aboute the fyve of June followinge; wheare I was honorablye receaved of the Emperore and no lese joyfully welcomede of the prince Boris Federowich. After I had delyverede hir Majesties letteres and princely salutacions, which was moste acceptable to them bothe, feasted and graced with a hondred dishes of dreste meates in sylvere, sente me to my lodginge by a duke with a hondred mene with diveres vesselles of wine and other their drinkes, presented and gratefyed with a faire imbroadrede pavillione or tente, princely garmentes, a goodly fair gennete horse, with sadle and furneture, and two thousande poundes in money, I was willed to sett downe in writynge whatt I desyred; whearin that noble prince shewed his great love, spessyall favor and direction privatly, as shall appeare.

1. Firste thear was remytted 500 li., which the Companye did reste owinge unto the Emperore of the formore years costomes.

2. Then was thear remytted 350 li., which their agente had gevene his word to paye towardes the buldynge of the newe walle aboute Musco.

3. The Company weare also releasod of 500 li. they wear condempned to paye for so muche taken upp of the Emperores offyceres in Yeraslam by a lewde factore of theires, one Anthony Marsh, who became bankeroute.

4. A cheefe factore of the Company, John Chaple, being in the kynges displeasure, was pardoned and released; and on thowsand markes in money repayd the Company out of the Emperores treasury.

5. A desperate debte owinge by the chauncelere Shalkan many yeares, of 370 li., was violentely puneshed from him and payd the Companye.

6. An other desperate debte of 460 li., which certene

offyceres had taken in the Emperores name, owing many yeares, was nowe payd to the Companye out of the Emperoures treasorye.

7. Thear was one Yorse Vislough, that oughe the Company 350 li. many yeares, subordined by Shalkan, was nowe enforced by puneshemente to paye the same to the Company.

8. The Companye was freed of dyveres rentes due unto the kynge for their howses at Valodge and Colmogor.

9. Whearas the Company weare grevosly abused by the Emperores offyceres, and debared of justyce in many townes whear they traded, proclamacion was sente by a gentleman of credit thoroughe out the wholl kyngdom for their better usage.

10. All interloperes and straglyng Englishemene lyving in that contrey weare gathered togather and appoynted to be transported.

11. The Company weare freed of above a thousand poundes due unto the Emperore for his costomes this yeare.

12. Thear was lente unto the Company by the prince Barris [Boris], out of the Emperores tresory, five thousand pound in money, franke and free, as longe as they wold use it.

13. Lastely, theare was geavene and graunted unto the sayd Company by the Emperore, for hir Majesties sake and for confirmation of the affoarsaid league and amytye so concluded upon, a moste ample and free preveledge and of greate consequence, evene as large as the prince and I coulde devise, to trade and traffycke in all places of his domynyons withoute payeinge any costome whatsoevere; obtayned not withoute many conflictes with the Chauncelore Shalkan, who, havinge the pennynge thearof, used divers connynge and coverte obstacles to abridge the largnes of the same, under pretence of good servis to the crowne.

Farther, in the tyme when I did negotyate theare, by reason of the famyllyere acces I had unto the prince in all places and at all howeres, thorow the spessyall lyke and favor he carryed towardes me many yeares togethere, I did

imploy my creditt with him in this mannor; I obtayned grace for many in displeasure, freedom for captyves and prisoneres, pardone for offendores, mercy and lyffe for many condemned, release of imposytyones and taxaciones, layde uppone monasteryes, townes and contreyes, for soulgeres, horses, furneture and moneye, procuringe and preservinge their prevelyges and charteres. *In suma,* in all my reasonable requestes, I coulde not be moare redy to intreate then the prince was willinge to graunte. This negotiacion beinge ended and tyme came for my departure, havinge receaved the Emperores lettores, riche and princely presentes to hir Majestie, my dispache was aunswerable to my intertaynmente, both from the Emperore, the prince and all other his dukes and nobyllyty, with as muche grace and honore as ever any ambassadore had; the mannor whearof appearethe in a shorte discourse anexed to the Emperores coronation, and therfore omyte the recitalle thearof in this place.

When, after I arryved at the courte, then at Richemonde, it pleased hir moste exelente Majestie to geve hir moste gratious allowance to the accompte I then yelded uppe of this my imploymente, and the lyke royalle acceptance unto the preveledges and princely presentes then delyvered unto hir Majestie; which preveledges it pleased hir Highnes selfe to gratefy the famos Company of marchantes, hir good subjectes, with all that trade thos partes, with hir princelye charge and caviate [*caveat*] for their wise orderynge, well governynge and preservinge of the same, beinge of so greate a consequence as it was, and to yelde bountyfull gratefycation unto me for my paynes and travill thearein.

Because it may be perceaved what manor of stylle and method their kynd of writynge doethe carrye, I thoughte it good to set downe onely a lettere or twoe of the princes writene unto me, as followethe.

"From Boris Fethorwich, thorowe the will of God, governere of the famos monarchic of all Rushia, lyfetenante

generall of the empirdons Cason and Astracan, cheefe comaundere of all the warlyke foarces, lord inheritore of that famos province of Vaga and many other, to my honorable frend Jerom, the sonne of William innobled. Be thou, my good Jerom, in helth and happy, and God geve that wee may the heir in good healthe and safty againe. For my helthe God be praysede! Concernynge thos matteres wee have laste conference of at the Trynetye, I doubt not but thou wille duly consyder of them, and use thie discresyone concernynge Roberte, provided, yf he come, he come well furneshed with skylle, as thowe mayste informe him. My mynd and pleasure I send thee in a partyculer noate by Ivan Volkove, by whom also thowe shalte receave my token of remembrance, forti sables, to make thee a gowne withall. And from mee unto thee, the sonne of William, innobled, a lowe sallutacion."

Docter Jacobe a phesition.

The Emperores comyssyon, written by the Chancelore.

"From the Emperore, lord and great duke, Feodor Ivanowich of all Rushea, etc., comyssyon or comaund unto thee, O leiftenante duke Vassilley Anderwiche Ivenogorondskey. Thear is dispached from us, lord and great duke, and from the lord Boris Fedorowich, with letteres and presentes unto Queene Elizabethe, Jerom the sonne of William, gentlman. And when he shall come unto our castell and towne of Colmogorod, wee comaunde that thear be all honore shewed unto him, wherby he maye be pleased, and althinges acceptable unto him, holdene, esteemed and reputed, ambasadore, honored and respected befoare all strangeres; and that the Emperores goodnes in provisyone be sente unto him mannerly by our captayne Sablok, and the lyke from Boris Fedorowich by Cusmen, unto Queene Elizabethe of England hir ambasadore, Jerom the sonne of William, gentlman."

A lettere from the Prince Protectore, sente unto me by Mr. Frauncis Cherrye, one of the Company of Muscovia.

"From Boris Fedorowich Godonoba, lyfetenante generall of all Rushea and of the emperores [empires] Causan and Astracan, cheefe counselor, mastere of the horse, prince inheritore of the regyon of Vaga, etc., unto thee, Jerom, the sonne of William, gentlman, lowe sallutaciones. Be thou, my good Jerom, in helthe. I lette the understand that Queene Elysabethe of England, hir dukes and noble mene, have written letteres unto me of late most unseemly and very undecente, joynynge the chauncelere with me thearin, which is no small disparragemente unto my princely dignety and honore as thou knoweste, which is to me very greevos; and have also written in the same letteres that I have not respected nor protected the Queenes marchants, but suffered them to be boughte and sould and injured of all people. Thearfoare to thee, Jerrom, that knoweste unto whom I reporte me, howe I have defended them for Queene Elizabethes sake, and in regarde of hir goodnes and favore did intreate the Emperore for them, who thoroughe my means hathe graunted unto them free previliged letteres that no custome whatsoevere shalbe takene of them nor of their goodes in no place of theis domynyones, suche as never have byne graunted heartofoare; shewed mercy uppon Robarte [Dr. Robert Jacob], pardoned his offences; proclaymed his gracious goodnes in all places; comaunded payment of their doubtfull deptes, and many other favores welle knowne to thee, my loving Jerom. Wherfore I have not answered Queene Elizabethe hir dukes and noble men their letteres at this tyme, for displeasure; but, God willinge, I will write unto them hearaftere thoroughely my mynd, and what my love and frendshipe hathe bynne unto Queen Elyzabethe and hir subjectes. In the meane tyme I have sent to thee, my good

Jerom, in tokene of the contynuance of my good will towardes thee, by Frauncys [Cherry], a paire of sables and a peece of clothe of gould, which I will thow weare for my sack."

I receaved diveres other letteres from the Highe Tresorer, the Chauncellor, and from other noble mene, shewinge what an oversighte it was that the nobyllyty of England should joyne any other in their letteres with the prince, espesyally suche a base man as they dide, and that I wolde make a pacefycacion for the same, consyderinge how greevously it was taken.

My aunswere unto the Princes letter, after their manore of writynge.

" Renouned prince and most noble lord, Boris Fedorowick, Jerom, the sonne of William Horsey, dothe prosterate himselfe befoare thie greatenes, evene befoare the face of the earthe. God graunte unto thee moste noble lorde, helthe and saftye many yeares. Thy lordly letteres are come unto my handes, perceavinge thearby thie highe displeasure conceaved agaynste the Queens moste exelente Majestie hir noble counselores, in not havinge that respecte in their letteres which dulye appertaynethe unto your princely dignetye, and in not acknoleginge thie great favore and clemency so many wayes shewed unto hir Majesties subjectes. The one, most noble prince, was of meere ignorance; the other for wante of advertesmente, their honores havinge non with them, at that tyme they wrate their letteres, that could informe them rightely of the highe place thy greatenes most worthely supporteth, nether of the presente state of your princely qualletye; the other thorowe an accedentall myshappe, or else your highenes myghte very worthely condemne me of an unpardonable faulte and folly comytted. For as it was moste requisite, so did I faithefully sygnefy in my letteres by an exprese messengere over land, the laste

wintere, written to the highe and righte honorable lordes of the Queenes moste exelente Majestie hir sacred privi counsell, not onely of the highe and princely septer of governemente which God of his devine goodnes hathe invested thee in, but also howe thoroughe thy sole and onely meanes, moste noble lord, free preveleged letteres in moste ample manor weare graunted unto hir majesties marchantes, and in howe greate measure it pleased thy highenes to extend thy gratyous favore towardes them many other kyndes of wayes. All which, uppon the highe great Easter daye laste, myscaryed at the sea; shipe, letteres and all loste. Have patyence thearfoare, moste noble prince; suffer not thy mylde and gratyous disposytyon be overcome with a wrathefull displeasure. Kynore [ignore?], my good lord, with thy princely wisdome and majestyecall clemency this unwillinge faulte comytted, for my sacke, unto whom thou haste graunted muche; and lette the satysfactyone of thy princely pleasure reste nowe upon the discharge of my dutye. For thy honorable guyfte sente me I yeld the moste lowly thankes, and will weare it for thy healthe. The Duke Vassilldy hathe behaved himselfe very honorablye towardes mee. William and John, cheefe agentes for the Queenes marchantes, have intreated me to suie unto thy greatnes that it will please the to contynewe in my absence thy gratyous favor towardes them; by whom I presente unto thy highnes a pyed fyghtyng bulle, twelve mastyves dogges, twoe lyones, three brase of grehoundes and three copple of very fayre houndes. God covere thye greatnes, moste noble prince, with his mercye."

Anthony Marsh.

Aboute two yeares aftere, as I remember, upon some occasyone that in this tyme had falne aboute a lewde factore of the Companyes, that had takene uppon their credyte of noble men, marchantes and other the Emperores subjectes, for about xx thousand poundes, wasted and consumed it,

and afterward very unreasonably required of the Company, he beinge suborned in his actyones againste the Company by the Chanselore Shalcan, theare was sente a messengere from the Emperore unto hir Majestie. And also in *anno* 1588 thear was sente from hir Majestie Mr. Docter Flecher unto the said Emperore; in which tyme theare was found a greate alteracion in the Prince Boris, in respecte of his formere good wille; as appeared bothe by the hard usage towardes the Company, as also by the bade intertaynemente geven Mr. Flecher theare; my selfe beinge also at that tyme [in] some displeasur with the Emperore, thoroughe a moste false informacion sugested by one of my owne servantes, one Thomas Wostenam, who to purchas his lewde lybertye, beinge in love with a Lyvonyan jentlwoman, thear joynede with the instygacion of a notable bade mane of that contreye, Shalkan, an arche enemye tryede unto hir Majestie and subjectes, that I should speake suche hainous wordes at my table of the Emperore as was not fytte to bee utterede. Which beinge avouched befoare a sette counsell of the bloode royalle, I was greatly blamed and greevosly complayned of to hir Majestie in grose for the same. The said Wrsenam [*sic*] rewarded for the presente bothe with landes and lyvinge, maryed the sayd gentlwoman, but very shortly after had his condinge deserte. In the same place he was rayled on, beatene and buffetede, of all mene as he wente in the streetes, tylle he moste miserably dyede. Notwithstanding all this, the necessetye of the case beinge suche, it pleasd hir Majestie to send me agayne to the Emperor and to the Prince Boreis, with hir highnes letteres and mesuag, as followethe.

A lettere sente from the Queenes moste excelente Majestie to the Emperore of Rushea, by Jerrom Horsey, Esquire, hir Majesties agente, 1589.

"Elizabethe, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Queene, Defendere of the moste auntiente catholycke and true Chrystyane faithe, to the most renowned and moste mighty prince and lord, Theodor Ivomowich (*sic*), Emperore of all Rushea, Greate Duke of Vallademeria, Muskovia, etc. To our moste deare brothere and moste lovinge frende wee wishe perfecte helthe and prosperous successe in alle your highnes affaires. The letters which you sente unto us by our ambassadore, Gilles Flechere, wee have receaved; and, uppon vewe of them, have delyberatly consydered the partyculere poyntes contayned in the same; which to aunswere in ordere in some partyculere soarte wold prove over tedyous, nether doe wee mynd, for dyveres good consyderacones, to discourse of thos causes tylle farther oppertunetye shalbe offered. In the meane tyme wee reffere the effecte of all thos generall causes to bee by your highnes delyberatly overvewed againe; whearin wee both desyre and looke you should have suche honorable consyderacion as the true meanynge thearof maye bee agreeable to your princelye dignetye, and aunswerable to the proffessed ametye betweene us. The sodene alteracone of your brotherly love professed towardes us, in usynge our late ambassadore, Gylles Flechere, so basely as the lyke hathe not byne sewed [shewed?] or used to any of ours by the greateste prince of Europe, and the injurious usage of our sayd ambasador by a cheefe offycere of yours, your chaunselore, one Shalkan, who shewethe himselfe an aunciente enemy to our subjectes, and yet appoynted, as wee are informed, judge and party in thos matteres our ambassadore was to treate of, dothe geve us juste cause to suspecte that your highnes nether was nor is so well affected towardes us as wee deserved and appertaynethe to

our place and qualletye. The greate dishonor sondry wayes shewed towardes our princely Highnes, and the manyfold and uncessante injuryes done unto our subjectes tradinge into your kyngdomes, since the deathe of our lovinge brother, your late father, Emperore Ivan Vasilewich, of famos memorye, are many; which wee of our princely patience dide ever suppresse, thynkyng that they woulde have byne stayed and remedyed by your princly and brotherly love you proffes to beare towardes us; but nowe beinge broughte unto suche an extremetye that wee cann hardly any longer indure them, although very harde, espessyallye beinge suche grose injuryes, for our princelye nature to disgeste or put upe at the handes of any prince lyvenge under the sonne. And therfore wee desyre to understand your aunswer herin, whether they are done by your princely knoledge or by suche as are in offyce under your majestie, that dothe rather wishe enemetye then the contynuance of brotherly love and frendshipe betwen us. In the meane tyme, wee will conster (consider?) the beste of all thinges, and take hould of your moste frendly conclusyon in bothe thes and other your letteres. The bringer hearof is our welbelovede subjecte and houshold servante, Jerom Horseye, esquire, againste whome, by your Highnes letters, wee perceave your Majestie have takene some displeasure. Wee cane in no case thinke (consyderinge, as wel by your Majesties letteres hearto-foare as otherwise by that noble prince Boris Fedorowick his advertysments, that he hathe byne a man alwayes very greatly favored by your highnes, and ever comended for his good demeanore), but that it is a mallyssyous manore of informacion then deserved of him by some that stand evelle affectede towardes his well doinge, and envienge the good opynyone your Highnes have heartofore conceaved of him. Whearfoare wee praye you, our moste lovinge brother, to remove your Highnes displeasure takene againste him, and to shewe your accustomed clemency towardes him, so as he maye have

accese and free recourse too and froe, accordinge to our comyssyone, under your princely protectyon. Wee have also, for some good causes us thearunto movinge, comytted to the suffytyency and trust which wee repose in our sayd servante, Jerom Horsey, some thinges to be delyvered to your highnes by word of mouth; whearin wee praye you to yeld him favorable yeare [ear], and suche credyte in that which he shall say as wee wold doe to any servante of yours upon the lyke comendacion from you. And wee praye the Almyghty God to preserve your Majestie in good saftye and healthe. Gevene at our pallace of Greenwiche, the fyrste of Aprille, in the yeare of our Lord 1589, and of our raigne the 32."

An other lettere, moste to this effecte, was written from hir Majestie to the prince Boris, and sente by the said Mr. Horsye.

When, after I had receaved my dispache and leave from hir Majestie at Grinwiche, in Aprill 1589, I inbarked myselfe in one of the Queenes shipes, the Charles by name, which was appoyntede to receave me and my company at Yarmothe and to land me at Stoade. But the wynde comyng contrary, when wee wear at sea, throughe the unskylfullnes of the mastere, wee weare shutte in betweene two dangeros sandes one the Frysland coste, and storm arrisynge fylled the shipe so full of watere as that wee weare foarced to cleeare our decke of cables, ordenance, and suche lyke, which wee caste into the sea, and yet no hope of savinge our lyves nor shipe for that nighte. Many pereshed not fare from us. By chaunce, my selfe goate in to an Embdene boate, leavinge the shipe and people in great daungere; and, havinge some xxx myles by watere to Embdene, was chased very fyrsely uppon the rivere by the souldyeres[1] that laye in garrysone, and havinge advantage bothe for winde and

[1] Malcontents.

boate wee gotte to Embdene walles before them; overe which wee weare craned uppe, by reason their gates weare ramede upe of that syde of the towne. Aftere requeste made unto the Earle of Embdene for some gard to pass thoroughe his contrey in saftye, and hir Majesties letters pattentes of safeconducte shewed unto him, yt pleased him to appoynte xx horsemen, well provided, to conducte me owte of the moste daungere towardes Breame. And as I came to Stoad, whether the Queenes shipe came afterwardes welle, with purpos to traville towardes Collene, whether I was willed by Mr. Secretarye Walsyngham to repaire for some intellygence of the Emperyalle princes theare proceedynges uppon a dyette theare to be holdene, I understoode by the waye theire tyme of meetynge was defferred. Wheruppon I wente forwardes thorowe Gearmany, and uppon the second of Maye I came to the courte of Pollonya, at Warsovia; delyvered the Queenes letteres unto the kynge Sigiusmundus the Third. Wheare, in the tyme of my aboade, beinge xx dayes, at the intrety of the deputy[1] and his company, the Marchantes Adventurores tradinge thos contreyes, I became a suitore unto the kynge in their behalfe.

Mr Horsey made a suite to Kynge Sigesmonde for the Marchante Adventureres, that, weareas the said marchantes had sustayned greate losses by credyte gevene unto his Majesties subjectes and others inhabetynge in his kyngdom, by meanes of letteres of protectyone geven oute by his Majestie and his predecessors, the sayd marchantes humble suite unto his Majestie was, that hearaftere, yf any suche protectyone weare graunted to any suche as the sayd marchantes should credyte and have dealynge with, the same myghte not debare them from justys in recoveryng of their owne.

This suite beinge made, the Kynges answere was he wold consydere of the mattere with his counselle, and by them I should receave his pleasure thearin.

[1] Mr. Barker.

Twoe dayes followinge, I was sente for to confere of the same with the Kynges highe chamberlene, Panne Marck de Obrosy Lysnovolosky, the Kynges secretary, the under chamberlen and the mastere of the requestes.

Thes noble men did offer to speake of other matteres, as concernynge the amety and ayde hir Majestie did afforde the Turkes, interuptyon of the Kynges subjectes their trade into Spayn, etc.

I tolde them I had no comyssyone to deall in thos matteres. The secretarye did impugne my suite moste, sayenge yt was not fytte his Majestie should be bound to geve his letteres of protectyon by prescriptyone, but as seemed his Kyngly pleasure beste.

"I speake of no bonde, but of suche a prohibicion or modcracion as it wold please the Kynge to use in his letteres of protectyone for beste remedye of so great an inconvenyence (that was all the marchantes did desyre); whearin none of sence will take the kynge to be lysted, neither his pleasure nor prorogatyve royall nothinge impeached."

The referendary, as they terme him, did answeare that this suite had byne oftene movede befoare, and the highe chanselore, who was then tene myles of uppon some discontentment, Panne Samoyky, thought it not fytte to be graunted for dyverse respectes.

"I could the suite, under your lordly correctyones, to be so indyfferente as that the gayne which in tyme wold arryse unto the Kynge and his contreye wold be at the leaste equevolente with the comodytyes the marchantes should reape therby. Notwithstandinge, it beinge graunted and hir Majestie acquinted with all which my dutye should undertake in faithefull manore to discharge, I doubte not but hir Highnes wold yeld his Majestie greate thankes for the same."

"Then," saythe the secretary, Pane Luckash, "you wold make the Kynge beholding to you in grantinge it. I praye you shewe us what comodcty cane the Kynge and his con-

traye reape by pleasuringe you so muche. Saye one, what is your reasone?"

"The cheefe pyllere to a florishinge comonwelth, I have herde, moste noble lordes, is trade and traffycke, recourse and concourse of pople, the cheefe tranquilletye belonginge to the dyadem of a kyngdome. Your very actyones, noble counselors, dothe manyfeste unto the worlde your owne polletycke course thearin, howe providente you are for the preservacion of the same. Thearby your marchantes growe riche, your mecanycall people sette a worke, your nobyllytye have good vente of that their revenewes moste consyste of, your cuntery furneshed with suche necessary thinges as they cannot wante, your superfluous comodytyes transportede from you, your treasures increase by the costomes that acrewe by traffycke manye kyndes of wayes. Heare is the turne of a whoall comonewelthe served by preservacion of trade and traffycke; which consystethe wholye in the good usage and favorable entertaynemente of marchantes and traderes. The contrarye wee see by Spayne and Portugalle, howe greatelye the cheefe townes and welthieste people are decayed, howe discontented and disloyally the subjectes lyve synce the tyme of their discensyone with the realme of Englande. Our marchantes recone them selves welle usede in this kyngdome. It gevethe greate applause unto hir Majestie. Yf this one favore were added, they shalbe the moare bounde unto the Kynge. I leave it to your grave wisdomes, and crave pardone for my argumente."

They gave thankes, and so did I. I thoughte the tyme well spente, and so did they. Wee partede in great curteseye and mete agayne at the lord highe chamberlenes, at dynnere, wheare I was sompteously feasted. Who tould me, thoroughe his solyssetacion the Kynge had graunted my suite. And the secretary had ordere foarthewith to dispache an edickte or proclemacion to that effecte, which was required the same to be publeshed at Daunsycke, Elbynge,

Konyngespurge and in other places. With this good intertaynemente and the Kynges leteres pattentes, I departed. But Possovinus[1] for an ould gruge for displeasyng him and the qualetye of his mastere the Pope before the Emperore of Rushea, caused Pater Antonius, the Popes Legate, that leaye theare to gather uppe the brudalle pence, to set a Spanyard souldyore thear in paye to lye in ambushe with fortye horse, to ransacke and spoylle me and my company, yf Panme Joan Debowſch [Chlebowich], a good protestante duke, my former acquintance, had not conducted me in a safe waye, contrary to their expectaciones.

And when I came to the great dukes courte of Lyttuania, Panne Christophor Regavyle [Radzivil], which he held at Vallna, beinge about the xij of June, his grace gave me very greate and honorable entertaynemente; shewed me great pleasure and pastymes; highely extollynge with wordes of greate allacrety the highe and greate magnificence of the Queenes moste exelente Majestie of Englande, to the greate admyracione of all his nobles, he holdethe a moste magnyffycente princely porte. With whos letteres pattentes very gratyously writtene I departed, and passed safly thorowe his domynyones tylle I came to Smolenska in Rushea.

Wher, incontynent uppon my comynge, the duke and governore theare sygnefyed therof to the Emperore and the Prince Boris Fedorowich. From whome very shortely theare was sente a gentlmane of good reconynge, well attendede, to conducte me to the courte; wheare I arryved, beinge in Muskoe, the laste of June. Bute a 3 mylles from the cyttye thear mette me a gentleman of the kynges house, with a very good mesage from the Emperore and prynce Boris Fedorowich, and accompanyed me into the cheefe cyttye, wheare he gave me possesyone of a faire house to lodge in, belongynge to a bushope. Three dayes followynge the aforsaid jentelmane was sente againe unto mee, sayenge

[1] [Antonio Possevino, the Jesuit.]

that it was the Emperores pleasur I should have his goodnes and allowance for provissyone for myselfe, x mene and horses, meate and drinke, and all other thinges needfulle.

I hombly thanked his highnes; it had pleased the Queenes moste exelente Majestie of England, my lady and mystrys, to appoynte me suffytyent allowance for all suche provisyon. I was to accepte of none untylle I had delyvered hir Majesties letteres and treated of the causes I was sent aboute. Some of my old servantes of that contraye people weare suffered to attend uppon mee, by whome I made my provissyone out of the market, wantynge nothinge out of the Englyshe house I did require.

The chauncelore, my old backe frende, sendeth oftene unto me, desyring I wold forgete oulde grudges and moderate the complayntes I was to make of him; he would use all dilligente meanes to further my negotyacion.

I, knowinge him to be bothe a sutle and desemblynge foxe, durste not truste him, for feare I should fall further into his dangere, used such plausable and deletory answeres as I then thoughte good; which satysfyed him nothing at alle.

The same gentlman was sente agayne unto me the xviijth of July, and willed me to prepare myselfe the nexte daye at the thirde hour to come befoare the kynge.

But aboute the vjth owere the nexte daye he cam agayne, and tould me the Emperore was not well.

He came with the lyke mesuage the xxith; and it felle oute in lyke manore as it dide befoare; and so againe the third tyme.

But the xxixth of Jully I was appoynted againe to come to the Emperore; and when I came into the highe castell I was conducted into the offyce of ambasages; wheare after a whill I was sente for into the Tresorye offyce, wheare I found the lord highe tresorere Demenshoye Ivanwich Cherymisse, and the secretary of the offyce of amba-

sages Posnych Demetriove; who, after kynde sallutaciones, toold me it was the Emperores pleasure to knowe whearfoare I came and from whom.

I aunswered I was sente from the Queenes moste royall Majestie of Englande unto the Emperors highnes and the noble Prince Boris Fedorowich, with letteres and matter to treat of. They said againe they wold sygnefy the same; and so, after remembrance of some formor merymentes past betweene us, I was dismyssed to my lodginge for that tyme.

The fyrste of Auguste I was sent for againe to come to the Emperore; but when I came I found redy in the formore place a duke, the Emperores kynsmane, Knez Ivan Vasilwich Sitsky, and Ivan Vasilewich Godanoe, the Emperores neeare kynsmane, and the other two befoare namede. After conference *pro* and *contra*, they required to see my comyssyone. Which aftere I had shewede, they desyred that the Emperore and prince myghte see it; whearwith I was contented. And when I was againe sente for and the Queenes letteres delyvered to the Emperore, which was the xth of Auguste, theare was faulte founde with the sealle, being but the sygnete, and espessyally with the shorte stylle, and that they weare not in that usualle languag which hir Majestie was wonte to writ in.. Whearaboute we spente muche tyme and did nothinge; to all which suffytyente answere was made.

And then wold they have me delyvere what I was to treate of, and they wold answer me. I tould them I wold delyvere the same in artycles and desyre their answere in the lyke; which I dide, fayre writtene in their owne language, and so mayntayned the same; preventynge them thearby of their accustomed stertynge holes which was at any tyme heartofoare, when by argumente they weare evicted, they pleaded mysunderstandinge of the interpretore or coruptyone in the translacion.

The matteres treated of was nothinge pleasing, as maye

appeare, lese exceptable to them, suche as was nevere heartofoare delyvered by any; and yet very answerable with their kynde of disposytyon.

They marveled muche that I, befoare departynge in the Emperores displeasure, durste to com to him with suche a peremptory mesuage, spesyally abridgenge him of his due tytle. I told them "the peremptorynes of my mesuage was but answerable with the indignetyes that had byne offercde unto the Queenes moste royalle Majestie and unto the diademe of hir moste sacred monarchy, and consequently to hir good and loyall subjectes the marchantes tradinge thos contreyes; and althoughe, uppon a moste lewde and false informacion, it had pleased the Emperores Majestie to be displeased with me, yet that noble prince Boris Fedorowich, unto whos grace I was also sente, knewe fare bettere my demeanore almoste xx yeares towardes the Emperore had deserved; his graces favore and true princely countenance was alwayes a suffytyente testemony of my fydelytye. And your nobles welle knowe howe famyllyare I am acquinted with the manere of the Emperores stylle and what beseemynge termes to geve to his Majestie, and thearfoare have used no abrydgmente nor disparagemente to his Majestie nor kyngedome, noe kynde of waye. For thos wordes 'and many moare' includethe without resytalle muche moare then theare is. Thes thinges consydered, I see noe reasone whie you should blame my repaire hether, espesyally beinge comaunded by my soveraigne, or upbraide me with any thinge that you yourselves knowe to be untrue and not partynente to the mattere in hande."

Wee parted uppon good termes; and my artycles not longe aftere in suche good and reasonable soarte answered as that I was in a good waye to breake the necke of Shalkans authoretye the chauncelore, for I was furneshed with all suffytyente mattere for the same. Therfore I urged their resolusyone and confyrmacion of the afforesayd artycles, but

I found them slowe to come to that poynte. At which tyme greate preparacion was made for entertaynynge of a very greate ambassadore from the kynge of Polonya, and a suddene messuage was sente mee that the very same daye the sayd ambasadore shold come into the sytty of Musco muste I departe the same with my company; fearinge, accordinge to their jelleous humore, leste thear should happen some intercourse betweeu us.

The gentlmane that did attend uppon mee tould me it was the Emperores pleasure I should withdrawe myselfe to Yeraslandley toun, beinge some 4 or 5 dayes jurney from Musco; and that, aftere the dispache of the Polyshe ambasadore, I should see his eyes agayne and have honorable dispache.

I came to Yearsland in Novembere; taryed ther tille June. In which tymes I receaved dyveres letteres from some of my honorable and auntient frendes in the Emperores courte, with as much seacret advertyssmente as they durst to write, and howe that by the princes meanes all thos thinges hir Majestie required wold be graunted and assented unto, and hir hignes fully satysfyed. But the chaunceler Shalkan had wroughte all the meanes he coulde devise to disgracc me; howe that I hade byne and consulted with the kynge of Polonya Sigismundus, bewrayed the Emperors secretes unto him, and the lyke to the great duke of Lyttuanya Rogavell [Radzevil]; disdayned the Emperors allowance; and that yf I should come to the sea syde beföare the shipes weare unladen, I hade in purpos to surprise the castell, disturbe the trade theare, and hindere the Emperore of his costomes. Thearfoare was I stayed at Valogda tylle the vjth of Jully. At which tyme theare was a gentlman sente to me, who in his comyssyon under the chauncelores hande was to lette me knowe, that, whearas the Emperore was mynded I should come unto his Majestie and receave a full and resolute answere of thos matteres I hade propounded, his Majesties

mynde was alterede by reasone of the greate disquietnes of late happened amongeste his people, and he was to conducte me to the sea syd to take shippynge. Whether when I came, the captayne of the castle told me, the Emperore had answered the Queenes letteres and artycles I treated of in suche soarte as hir Majestie wolde be welle pleasede thearwith.

Heare appearethe how Shalkan had the starte of me, a moste sutle Sythian as ever lyvede. For he, fearinge that I wold not thus leave him nor his trechery undiscovered, incertethe many disgracefull termes of me in the letters sente unto hir Majestie in the Emperores name, without the Emperores or the princes knollege, evene as my frend before had writtene mee from the courte [he?] feared he would; which afterwardes Salkan beinge charged withall by the prince, according to his accustomed manore, uppon his salvacyon he denyed; which kynde of abuse maye easely be done unespyed amonge them, for this was their mannore. The counsell theare agreed and resolve uppon the mattere and manore of the letters. The cheefe offeeere of ambasages to him is comyttede the draughte or framynge therof. Then he presentethe and readethe the same. Aftere that, yf he be so mynded, he alterethe it as beste will serve his conceipte, for the are seldome or nevere revewed agayne. The Kynges Majestie nevere settes his hand to any, but this party wrytethe them, sealethe them, the scalle beinge in his owne costody, directethe and sendethe them. This kynde of his trayterous contryvance in letteres and comyssyones was with him so comone as he could not refraine it to his ende, althoughe generally knowne he hathe byne grevosly puneshed, plaged and condempned, for the same. The ould Emperor reserved him onely for an instrumente to plage and punyshe his people withall. This prince, Boris Fetherwich, in respecte of his experyence, was contented he shold be used for a tyme coasystante with another, untylle his lewde practyses

in that state was so intolerable as that his myserable ende became, as I have herd, an untymely herrould to shortene his diabollycall and moste odyous lyfe.

But to drawe to an ende of our formore mattere. Aftere I was imbarqued at St. Nicolas I had a speedy passage in to England, and came to the courte at Richemonde the 4th of October 1590 [1591]; wheare it pleased hir moste exelente Majestie to voutsafe me hir royall presence and princely yeare [ear] unto this relacione of my moste daungerous and laste imploymente. Synce which tyme I understand the Emperore Feodore is deade, and the prince Borris is with a generall applause and unyversall consente crouned Emperor, his sone heire apparante, and their heires for evere invested in the same by parleamente royalle. This prince was broughte uppe by the oulde Emperore, Ivan Vassilwich; who alwayes favored and loved him as intyrely as he did his other two sonnes; in the end maryed his second sonne unto his systere, who was the laste Emperore Fedore; over whom he gave him soule governmente in his lyfe tyme, and in his sycknes adopted him his sonne, and bequethed unto him in his wille, confyrmed it in his lyfe tyme, and aftere by a counsell royalle, the governemente of the empyre, with the assystance of 4 other grave noblemene of the blood royall. After whoas deathe he injoyed the same. Thorow whos wisdome and pollesy, holdinge a course moste unlyke unto the formore governemente, he is nowe become a prince of subjectes and not of slaves, kepte within duty and loyalty by love and not by feare and tyrany. He is comlye of stature, of countenance very welle favored and majestecalle with all, affable in behavioure and yet of greate courage, wyse, polletycke, grave, and of aboute 50 yeares of age; mercyfull, a lovere of vertue and of good mene, a hatore of wicked mene, and a sevcare punesher of injustyce. *In summa*, he is a moste rare prince as ever raigned over thos people (as any I have red of in theire cronecles, which are of greate antyquetye). His Ma-

jestie hathe evere had a moare spesyall lyking to our natyone then to any other, and the free prevelyges which I procured in *anno* 1585 unto that famos Company of marchantes adventureres tradinge thos contreyes, was onely his favor; who thoroughe their wyse governemente and good caryage evere synce have quietly enjoyed the same. And althoughe some envious amonge them wold somwhat obscure the credyte therof, throughe procurynge a needlese rewritynge of the same, thearby have they mayntayned their decayed trade, reaped unto them selves not onely greate fame, good gayne, duble benefyte unto the realme by transportynge our superfluous comodetyes which orrigenally growethe in this kyngdom, and bringyng in to the same suche worthie comodytyes as are none moare necessarey for a comone welth imployeng shipes and mene, but also spessyall service unto hir Majestie, as well by furneshinge hir royall navie with theire beste and princepall ornamentes, as also greatly increasynge hir highenes costomes to and froe many wayes, by meanes of their traffycque. God speed their plowe! For suche worthie subjectes are worthie of many good wyshes.

I have, by meanes of my oftene traville overlande thoroughe many contreyes, and xx yeares experience, observed many necessary and memorable thinges very worthie the publeshing, of the contraye of Cataye, the great Cane, caled by the Percian and Bogharian the Riche Indea, with whome of thos people that have byne oftene theare I have had muche conferrence, the state of the Persianes, Boghariane, and Gorgianes contreyes, the Great Came or Cryme, the Sitheane Tartare, and of all the other Tartaryanes countreyes, of the Siberianes and Samoeds, of Muscovia and Russia, of Littuania, Livonia and Pollonia, of Wallachi, Transilvania and Hungaria, of Swethia, Denmark and Norway, of Germany and all the partyculer provinces thearof, of their soyll, clymate and circuat, of their contreyes, the manore of governemente and names of ther princes, with

their severall stylles, the natyve comodytyes and cheefe cittyes in eiche contreye, their manore of buildinges, and wherof moste they consyste, and what coyne is used, the nature and disposytyone of the people, their relygeone, antyquety and monumentes, their manore of warres, wepones and ensygnes used in their contreyes, etc.

Yf I weare as forward and in as good redynes as I ame well furneshed with all suffytyente mattere concerynge the estate and qualletyes of thes contreyes affoarnamede, I woulde willyngly comyte it to the good disposynge of this learned and worthie knyghte, Sir Robarte Cottone, that hathe takene moste comendable paynes in publeshinge this, a volume of so rare a mattere as the lyke hathe nevere heartofoare byne compyled together by any one historeographere whatsoevere; and the rather for two respectes, the one for that which I will saye uppon my owne knoledg shall contayne yt selfe within the lystes of truthe, and the lyke I confydently presume also of that which I have observed by dillygente inquiry; the other, because I wante bothe skylle and learnynge, methode and manor, to compose the same into any gracefull foarme. Notwithstandinge, yf God permyte, I doe promis eare longe be to shewe my indevore to doe it in the beste soarte I cane.

No. III.

COMPLANTS OF THE RUSSIA COMPANY AGAINST JEROME HORSEY.

[*From the Lansdowne MS.* CXII, fol. 137.]

To the right honorable the Lorde Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England.

In most humble wise beseecheth your honorable lordship your humble suppliauntes, the Companie of Merchauntes tradinge Russia, that, whereas there was latelie graunted unto us by the Emperor of Russia, at her Majesties requeste, a newe priveledge of traffique into all the dominions of the Emperor, which graunte was latelie brought hither by one Hierome Horsey, together with letteres from the said Emperor and the Lord Boris Fedorowich Gordinoe [Godunow] to her Majestie; and whereas, by the meanes of the said Hierom Horssey, used to her Majestie at his last beinge here, by pretence of commission given him in that behaulfe by the Empresse of Russia (which, indede, seemeth to be but a mere surmise), her Majestie sente over a midwiefe to the said Emperesse; which midwief, by practise of the said Hierom Horssey, was keapte a whole yeare in the countrie of Russia and nowe sente over againe, beinge never suffered to come neare the citie of Musko, where the Emperor altogether abideth, nor the said Empresse made privie of anie suche woman commended from her Majestie; whereuppon

the said midwieff hath exhibited a complainte to the Queene, uppon which complainte it pleased her Majestie to committe the examininge and reporte of this matter to one of the Masters of the Requestes. But soe it is, right honorable, that the said Hierom Horssey, ether fealinge the guilt of his owne conscience in the thinge wherein he is accused, or otherwise fearinge the aunsweringe of matters betwen the companie and him (tendinge to this effect, that he hath bene not onlie a principall worker and mover of all the troubles and disgraces that have fallen uppon the companie, and of the heynous complainte made by the Emperor to her Majestie againste her subjectes in his letters first brought over to her highnes by the said Hierom Horssey, but alsoe was indebted unto us by manie lewde practises in greate sommes of monie) is secretlie nowe departed and gone out of the realme, and, as yt is to be suspected, hathe taken his jorney towardes Russia, where noe doubte he will put in use all suche practises and devises wherein he can by anie meanes prevaile to disturbe the companie and trade. In respect whereof, and for the avoidinge of all occasion which by his malice may be put in uze, ether by him or his confederates, for the breach or hinderaunce of the leage newlie begonne betwene her Majestie and the said Emperor, or for the disturbinge of the trade,—it may please your honorable lordship, in the behaulfe of the companie, to be a meane to her Majestie that letters of thankefulnes may with all convenient speede be devised, acknowledginge the Emperors great love and favour used to her subjectes for her sake, together with some advertisement of the manner of the said Hierom Horsseys departure in contempte of her highnes. And your lordships said suppliauntes shall be further bounde to praye to God longe to preserve your right honorable estate. [1588.]

[*From the Lansdowne MS.* CXII, f. 122.]

Matters to be conteyned in her Majesties letteres to be wrytten to the Emperor of Russia, in the behaulfe of the companie of merchauntes tradinge those partes.

(EXTRACT.)

... But whereas Hierom Horssey, beinge sent from the Emperor to her Majestie with his most loving and kinde letteres, gratuities and tokens of remembraunce, and with a priviledge of trade under his highnes greate seale, and havinge delivered to her owne handes the said letteres and priviledges with theire translacions, the which she redd and diligentlie perused, and was joyefulle to finde so honorable and brotherlie a zeale in his highnes towardes her Majestie and her people; it may alsoe please her Majestie to advertise that she did, by the reason of soe acceptable thinges brought by the said Hierom Horssey, make the more estimation and accompt of him, and appointed that he should be used above his degree and callinge. But, afterwardes, complainte was made to her highnes against him, to the which she purposed to have him called to make his reasonable aunswere. And, alsoe, there was some matters of greate valewe in accompte dependinge in question betwene her merchauntes and him, wherewith he beinge charged, as yet seemeth, he founde himself therein soe nearlie touched that he departed awaie out of her highnes realme, and never made anie one that can be hard of privie to his departure or acquainted whether he would go.

And, because it is thought he is gone into Russia, her Majestie hath thought it good to desire the Emperor that his cominge thether be noe waie prejudicall to her merchauntes; neither that anie credite which he seeketh, or hath heretofore obteyned, be charged uppon them other then for suche thinges as came to the companie use.

And, to the end he worke noe disturbaunce to this league and amitie nowe begonne, nor noe injurie to the companie, by color of insertinge of his name to the previlidges, it may please his Majestie to send him over againe in the next shippes, to make an ende of all matters with the merchauntes, and that her Majestie may heare and examine the complaintes and matter wherewith he is to be charged. [1588.]

[*From the Lansdowne MS.* CXII, f. 133.]

A DISCOURSE (AS BRIEF AS CAN BE CONVENIENTLIE SETT DOWNE) OF THE TROUBLES AND INTERRUPTIONS WHICH HAVE BENE MOVED AND PROCURED TO THE COMPANIE OF MUSKOVIA MARCHAUNTS, WITHIN THES FOUR YEARES, CHIEFLIE BY THE PRACTYSE AND WORKINGE OF HIEROM HORSSEY, THIER LATE SERVAUNT, NOWE NEWLIE FLED AWAY INTO RUSSIA, AS IT IS TO BE FEARED, THER TO PROCURE THER FURTHER ANOYE AND DAUNGER TO HER MAJESTIES SUBJECTES, YF REMEDY BE NOT BY YOUR HONORABLE WYSDOMES SPEADELIE PROVIDED.

1. *Newe ordinances were made by the Companie to avoide private trade.*

The wrongs and abuses done to the common state of the Companie of Muskovia merchauntes by the agentes, factors, and servauntes, imploied in ther affaires in Russia, who soughte ther owne private gaine to the overthrowe of the Companies common state, did aboute four yeres past necessarily drive the Companie to make newe ordinaunces for the reformation of those mischiefes.

2. *Robert Peacock, agent, and John Chappell his assistent, sent into Russia to execute those ordinaunces.*

For the dewe execution whereof they sente over into Russia one Robert Peacock, a skilfull and ready merchaunte, to be ther agente, and one John Chapell, a man acquainted bothe with the countrey and language, for his assistent.

3. *Robert Peacocke resident at the Musko, John Chapell at Cassan.*

These two men beinge come to St. Nicholas in Russia, they severed themselves, and agreed that thone of them shuld make his residence at the Musko and the other at Cassan, which places are distant 500 miles.

4. *Hierom Horssey, late the Companies apprentice, and then ther stipendarie, had the charge of ther palato or storehouse in the Musko.*

Hierom Horsey, then the Companies servaunte, beinge lefte at the Muskoe with the charge of all the Companies goodes under his handes, whilest the former agent, William Trumbull, came to St. Nicholas to meete with Robert Peacocke and John Chapell, at arryvall of the shippes, was to deliver to thandes of the agent Robert Peacocke all the goodes which were lefte unsolde at the Musko, together with an accoumpte of all thinges done by him, the said Hierom, whilest he had those goodes in his charge.

5. *Hierom Horssey practised to deceave the agent with a false inventorie.*

Whereupon he wrote and made ready an inventorie of all the goodes which remained unsolde at the Musko, and therein inserted the particles of divers goodes amountinge to the value of (*sic*), which indeade he had conveied awaye, thinkinge the inventorie shulde have bene accepted without examination of the parcelles; wherein Robert Peacocke disapointed him. Which purpose of his beinge discovered, and the goodes wantinge, he was content to be charged with a part of the said want, and one Anthony Marshe, with whom he was confederate, with the reste.

6. *He gave up an accoumpte of great sommes dewe by men, whereas ther were noe suche men to be founde.*

And beinge to give an accoumpte of the sales by him made of the goodes committed to his charge in the said former agentes absence, he delivered in, amongest other deceipts, a

note of divers particular goodes solde to divers men, geavinge them the title of good men and suche as woulde pay at the day; whereas indeade there were noe suche men, but he onlie surmysed suche names; which particular sommes amounted unto 2186 roubles 180*d.*

7. *His deceipte beinge discovered, he tooke those debtes uppon him selfe.*

When the tyme of payment of these particular sommes sett downe was expired, then the agent discovered this deceipte. Which beinge knowen, Hierom Horssey toke uppon him the debte of 2186 roubles 180*d.*, and paied in part of payment 500 roubles.

8. *The agente tolde him he would advertise the Companie of his dealinge.*

But the said Hierom Horssey denyinge to make him a bill or give him securytie for the rest, the agente tolde him he woulde advertyse the Companie thereof in his next letteres.

9. *To prevent this, he practised that none of the Companies servauntes shuld be suffered to goe overland with letters.*

To prevente this advertisement, Hierom Horssey practised that the said agent shuld have noe licence to sende away anie of the Companies servauntës overlande with his letters; which thinge he soe effected that the agent, sewinge for suche a licence, was delaied from tyme to tyme, until the season of the yeare was almoste past for travell overland.

10. *The agent went aboute to send his letters by a Polonia merchaunt.*

The said Robert Peacocke, the agent, beinge then given to understande that a marchaunt of Polande was gone newlie from the Musko overlande, he sente one John Horneby, the Companies servaunte, to overtake the marchaunte and to deliver him too packettes of letters, bothe of one tenour, geavinge him order that one shulde be sent to Danske and thother to Melvin, to be conveied from thence for England.

11. *Hierom Horssey and one Anthony Marshe surmised to the Counsaill that the agent had written treason against the State.*

His intention beinge knowen to the said Horssey and Marshe, before the said John Hornebyes departure, they sett ther servauntes to watch his goinge forthe; who beinge by those servauntes discryed, they had worde of hit, and theruppon ymmediatlie went to the Counsaill and enformed them that Robert Peacocke, the agent, had sent a messenger to the borders of the enymies with letters conteyning matter of treason against the State.

12. *The letters were intercepted and enterpreted by Hierom Horssey, Marshe, and others.*

Whereuppon a post was sent after the said John Horneby, and he brought backe againe with the letters; which letters were delivered to the said Horssey, Marshe, and others, to be interpreted: the meanewhile the agent and the said Horneby charged with treason, the one committed under gard in the Companies house, the other to pryson.

13. *The bearer of the letters put to torture called the Putkey.*

The letters being founde to conteyne nothinge but matter of trade, the Lord Boris Gordino [Godunow] theruppon used these wordes, viz., "These men are at variaunce amongest themselves. Well! I will ende thes controversies to morrowe." Notwithstandinge, the meane tyme, it was surmysed that the said Hornebie, the messenger, had some matter of treason delivered to him to report by worde of mouth; and, to drawe the truth from him, he was put to the *putkey*, wher he was hanged by both his handes, tyed behinde him, and waightes to his feete, and had 24 lashes with a wyer whippe, being still called uppon to confesse the treason.

14. *The bearer of the letters laid to the fier to have bene rosted.*

But he havinge nothinge to confesse, yet, uppon the suspition of that which was falselie suggested, was taken downe and laid to the fyer to have bene rosted. But the Lord Boris Fedorowich beinge presente, and consideringe the innocencie of the prisoner, cried out to the executioneres "Take him from the fyer and sende him awaye!" Wheruppon he was had to pryson againe, wher he remayned for the space of eighte weekes.

15. *The Lord Böris Fedorowich tolde John Horneby, the messenger, which was punished, that he might thanke his owne countrymen.*

The said John Horneby afterwardes commynge before the honorable gentleman the Lord Boris Fedorowich, with another Englishman as his enterpreter, and humbly castinge himself prostrate on the grounde at his feete, gave him thankes for his honorable compassion and graunt of his lieff. To whome he, strokinge him on the head, used thes wordes: "Thowe maiest thanke thyne owne countrymen for thy punishment."

16. *Hierom Horssey procured John Chapelles imprisonment.*

The said Hierom Horssey pröcured the ymprisonment of John Chapell, the agentes assistent, who was deteyned prisoner by the space of a yere and a half. He had before that vowed and sworne a revenge uppon the said Chapell, and tooke the oportunytie of that tyme by color of the copie of a letter which was founde in the packett of the agentes letters intercepted. This letter was written by one of the Companies servauntes to another of his companions at Cassan, wherein he signefied that the Companie had sett John Chapell over them as a spie, meaninge an overseer of them and ther doinges.[1]

[1] [The letter alluded to was written by John Ralph. It is preserved in the Lansdowne MS. XLII, art. 23.]

17. *John Chapelles imprisonment grewe by reason of the corrupte interpretation of a letter.*

This letter amongest other the letters in the packett was by them translated, and the word spie was not translated in that sense as the wryter ment it, but sett downe generallie. Whereuppon it was collected that the said John Chapell was sent as a spie to looke to the state of the countrey; for which he was soe imprysoned and the goodes under his charge seased to the Emperores use, beinge of the valewe of 4500 roubles, whereof ther is yet but 1000 roubles restored.

18. *The Kinges letters of complaint brought over by Hierom Horssey.*

Thes troubles beinge brought uppon the Companie, then the Emperor wryteth a letter to the Queene, conteyninge divers complaintes against Robert Peacocke and John Chapell, allowinge of the behaviour of William Trumbull and Hierom Horssey. In which letter he willed that aunswer should be retorned by the said Hierom Horssey; which clawse seemeth to have bene inserted for his protection; for that the Lord Boris Fedorowich, before Horsseis comminge with the letters, asked him howe he durst goe into his owne cuntrey.

19. *He caused her Majestie to sende over an Englishe midwieff, which he kepte in Russia a yere and never suffered her to come neare the Empresse; never did she ever knowe that suche a woman was sent.*

When as he was come hither with the Emperores letter, he moved the Queene as having commission from the Empresse for an Englishe midwieff to be sent into Russia. Whereuppon a midwieff was sent; but, she beinge come over, the said Horssey practised to keape her from the knowledge of the Empresse, and havinge deteyned her at Vologdo, farre from the Musko, by the space of a yere, she is nowe retorned, and the Empresse never knewe of her. What he ment by that practise, and what warrante he had

to move the Queene for a midwieff, it is to be conjectured by his soddaine departure uppon the mydwiefes complainte to the Queene.

20. *The Lord Boris Fedorowich thought his sister dishonored by Horsseis motion for the midwieff.*

The Lord Boris Fedorowich, since the said Hierom Horsseis last departure from the Musko, being made acquainted with the manner of the bringinge over of the midwieff, thought the Empresse his sister greatlye dishonored by suche a surmyse, especially in respecte of the unfittnes of the messenger to be used in shuch a request; spoke thes or the like wordes in effecte; viz., "He hathe plaied the foole and the knave; he hathe abused the Queene, and that knoweth she. Yf he have done well it is the better for him; yf otherwyse, he is the Queenes subjecte, lett his head pay for it."

21. *It pleased her Majestie to retorne Horssey with the letters to the Emperor, and vouchesafed him the title of her servaunt.*

It pleased her Majestie, accordinge to the Emperores request, to retorne Hierom Horssey in to Russia as her Highenes messenger with her letters of aunswere, wherein her Majestie used a most gratious mediation in our behaulf to appeace the Emperores displeasure conceaved against her subjectes; and therein alsoe intreated the Emperor for the graunte of that privelege of traffique which his late father had, at her request, heretofore graunted to her marchauntes. And for the better credite of the said Hierom Horssey in solycitinge the matters conteyned in her Highnes letters, and that he mighte the rather benefite the Companye, her Majestie vouchesafed to grace him with the tytle of her servaunt.

22. *Howe he abused her Majesties favours, and by color thereof usurped further authoritie.*

But he, wantinge judgment and discretion, abused this favor of her Majestie bestowed uppon him, and by color

thereof, and by pretence of further authoritie geaven him by her gratious letters pattentes, toke upon him to have deposed the agent Robert Peacocke, to send him home overland, and to place another in his rowme. He tooke uppon him the name of President, and soe wrot him selfe. He signefyed to the Counsaill in Russia that he was the Queenes sworne man, one of the squiers of the bodie, and sent over by the Queene and Counsaill to govern the Companie.

23. *How he abused the agentes and laied violent handes uppon them.*

Accordinge to this ymagined commission, he beganne to enlarge the buildinges of the house, at the Companies charge, and to make new lodginges, such as the Companie had not use of. He carryed soe masterlie a government over the agent and all her Majesties subjectes ther, that he would not onely revyle them at his pleasure, but laid violent handes bothe uppon the said agent Robert Peacocke and uppon William Trumbull, nowe agent.

24. *Howe he was carried away with ambition.*

He beinge thus carried beyond him self with pride and ambition, he wrote a letter to the Companie, notinge unto them in what ruyne he found ther estate in Russia at his last comminge thether, usinge thes wordes, viz., " that the rootts of trees were turned upward, the hartes of all men hardened against us, the trade spoiled, that it would aske much worke to make it growe againe",—when as indeed, contrarywise, our agentes wrott us that all thinges were in good and quiet state. And further that he with much adoe had obteyned a graunte of John Chapelles release, wherein he attributed nothinge to her Majestie, althoughe it were one of the especiall pointes moved by her Majestie in her letters. And, in thende, he required the Companies full aunswere and pretence of their myndes what office the Companie would bestowe uppon him, ether president, deputie, agent, or what sett allowaunce they would geve him towardes his charges.

25. *How he would have deceaved the agent of* 2500 *roubles.*

He borrowed in the Companies name out of the Emperores treasurye 4000 roubles, apointinge the officeres ther to make ready a bill of debte for the same, and the agent shoulde in the Companies name come and signe it. Which bill was made readie and wrytten in the Russe carackter and tonge, wherein the said agent had small knowledge. Whereuppon, the said Horssey tolde the agent, Robert Peacocke, that he had obteyned out of the treasury 1500 roubles for the Companies use, and yf the said agent would goe thether and signe a bill, the mony shuld be brought him home. Wherunto the agent was willinge; but, beinge made privie by a frend of this plattforme and deceipte, he retorned againe and would not signe the bill.

26. In this plattforme laied, it seemeth he had an intention to have deceaved the agente of 2500 roubles, when as he would have had him signe a bill for 4000 roubles, and perswaded him he was to seale for 1500 roubles.

27. The said Peacocke, the agent, afterwardes, beinge made acquainted that Horssey had receaved thes 4000 roubles out of the treasurye uppon the Companies credite, he gott the money from him with muche adoe, threatninge him excepte he would deliver hit he woulde repaire to the treasurye and disavowe the havinge of it; which thinge the said Hierom Horssey fearinge delivered up the mony.

28. *How he procured the Companies warehouses to be sealed up for the debte of* 4000 *roubles dewe to the Emperor.*

But he lefte not this matter unrevenged; for, after he was departed from the Musko to come for England, he wrote a letter to the Lord Boris Fedorowich to sease the Companies goodes for the surety of the said mony. Whereuppon ther warehouses were sealed up, to the Companies great dis-

credite, and soe contynued untill Doctor Jacob obteyned the discharge of our goodes.

29. *He arrogateth to himself the greatest part of the commendation for the good effected to the Companie by the obteyninge of this newe graunte of priviledge.*

He beinge come hether againe with letters from the Emperor and from the Lord Boris Fedorowich, and bringinge with him the priviledges under the Emperors seale, doeth arrogate to him self the greatest part of the commendation of that benefite broughte to the Company, detractinge from her Majestie her right in that behaulf; and letted not to challenge to him self as great a piece of service done for the common welthe as any ambassador that hathe bene at anie tyme ymploied in those partes. But (not extenuating the gratious favour of the Emperor in thes priviledges) they conteyne nothinge soe great a liberty as the priviledge graunted by the olde Emperor, when Mr. Randall [Randolph] was ambassador there, anie more to be attributed to Hierom Horssey in this service then the commendation of a solicitor in callinge uppon the Lord Boris Fedorowich, who hathe saied he hathe countenanced him only for her Majestics sake, and would have done the like unto any man sent unto him from her Majestie.

THE MANNER OF HIEROM HORSSEIS BEHAVIOUR IN RUSSIA BEFORE HE WAS IMPLOIED AS A MESSENGER WITH LETTERS.

30. *He abused the Chief Chauncelor and Secretary of the land of Russia.*

Aboute seven yeares past, the said Hierom Horssey, rydinge in the streetes in the Musko with Andrea Shalcan, the Chief Chauncelor and Secretory of the lande, uppon multyplyinge of wordes, he used a dispitefull Russe speeche unto him, biddinge—"goe lye with his mother:" the revenge whereof hathe sithence bene burthensome to the Companie.

31. *He causethe Thomas Wynnyngton to be imprisoned to his great charge.*

He procured one Thomas Wynnyngton, comynge into Russia, to be cast into prison and laid in yrons, because this Wynnyngton had discovered to the Companie the abuse of ther servauntes in Russia. And for that Horssey would be sure to see that Wynnyngton shold have noe favor in his imprisonment, he sent his man everie day to see that his yrons were uppon him. This ymprysonment cost Wynnyngton at the least 100 li.

32. *He procured the imprisonment of Richard Silke, his wief and children, to ther losse of* 1000 *roubles.*

He caused one Richard Silke, an Englishman, his wief and children, to be ymprisoned and to pay to the Emperor 1000 roubles, for that Silke gave advise to Robert Peacocke, the agente, to seeke the favour of some counsaille of the lande, to beare himself the better against the malice and practyse of the said Hierom Horssey.

33. *He is feared of all our nation in Russia, because he is a common accuser.*

He ymprisoned divers others, insomuche that he is feared by all our nation there for a common accuser, and noe man will live with him ther by ther good will, because he is soe daungerous and malitious a avengour, yf he take an offence against any man.

That Hierom Horssey be not by any meanes suffred to retorne into Russia, but that a discreete gentleman be served to be sent by her Majestie into Russia, to establishe bothe the leage and trade.

34. *The Companie are warned by the counsayll of Russia to keepe him at home.*

He is alsoe seditious, and breedeth variance amongest the counsaill in Russia; and therfore the Companie have bene admonished by one of the counsaill ther to keepe Horssey awaye, and he wilbe ther frend; for that he is nether pro-

fitable for that countrey, nor for the Company whilest he is amongest them.

The Emperors letteres require aunswere by another.

The Emperores letters require a gentleman of her Majesties houshold to be sent over, to establishe the leage and ende the variaunces of the marchauntes; that the Queene and the Emperor be not further trowbled aboute ther controversies.

The humble petition of the Companie to the Lordes of her Majesties most honorable Privie Counsaill.

The Companie beinge admonished not to use him nor to suffer him to retorne into Russia, them selves knowinge him to be a daungerous instrument and a mover of trouble and variaunce, and soe wastfull and prodigall that ther trade cannot bear the charge of suche an one to have to doe for them; and alsoe they findinge him indepted unto them in verie great sommes of money, gotten into his handes by his unfaithefull, fraudulent and deceiptefull dealinge; had a purpose to offer unto your honorable wysdoms and grave considerations the knowledge of thadvertysementes and admonitions sent them out of Russia, besides ther owne knowledge of the man, to thende he might be staied here. But, whilest they were in settinge downe thes matters in wrytinge, ther was exhibited to the Queenes Majestie a compleint by the mydwief sent and commended by her Majestie to the Empresse of Russia; to which complainte he beinge called to make aunswere theruppon, is fledd away, and, as it is to be doubted, is gone into Russia, wher, noe doubte, he will worke all the meanes he can to anoy the Companye and the trade. In respecte of which daunger, it may please your honorable and good lordships to be a meane, on the behaulfe of the Companie, to the Queenes most excellent Majestie that, accordinge to the Emperores requeste made

to her highenes in his letters, it would please her Majestie to send unto the Emperor some discreete gentleman, suche as the Companie shuld make choice of, commended by her gracious letters or otherwise authorised as shalbe thought convenient, to proceade in treatye with the said Emperor and his Counsaill, bothe touchinge the leage and amytie moved, and alsoe touching the priviledge graunted, or further privledges to be reasonably moved or intreated for. And it may please her Majestie, by the same letters, to advertyse the Emperor of the maner of the departure of the said Hierom Horssey out of England, prayinge that the said Horssey may be sent hether againe, to avoide all further occasion of sedition or variaunce to be hereafter moved amongest her Majesties subjectes resident in Russia. And the said Companie shall, God willinge, be more carefull whom they doe hereafter ymploy in those partes.

[*From the Lansdowne MS.*, CXII, fol. 139.]

To the right honorable the Lord Burghley, Lord highe Treasurer of Englande.

Your lordships humble suppliauntes, the Companie of English merchauntes tradinge Russia, as well as in discharge of their dutie to her Majestie as in regarde of theire trade, which nowe lyeth in a desperate state and readie to be overthrowne, yf yt be not supported by your honorable grave advise, and preserved from ruyne by some cowrse to be directed uppon good deliberation, doe humblie informe your honor, that yt is given out that her Majestie mindeth to imploye Hierom Horssey in some service of her Highnes, ether to the Emperor of Russia or otherwise towardes the

east partes. Yf to the Emperor of Russia, forasmuche as his imployment may concerne the Companie, they humblie praye your good lordship to vouchsafe the readinge of thes articles herewith exhibited, as objections not malitiouslie surmised against him, but suche as shalbe apparauntlie proved before your honor. Uppon viewe whereof your lordships grave wisdome may judge whether yt shalbe honorable for her Majestie anie waie to use the service of a man of such behaviour; or that the Companie shall have reason to hope for redresse of theire injuries in Russia by the imployment of him whom the Emperor, in his last letters to her Majestie, noteth to be a man that breadeth debate betwene princes, and wisheth that suche as he hereafter be not sent from her majestie in the behaulfe of her merchauntes. But yf his imployment be ment for anie other partes, then, in discharge of our duties to her Majestie and your lordship and others of her Highnes most honorable Privie Counsaill, we thinke ourselves bounde not to conceale soe greate blemishes in a man chosen out to travell in her Highnes service. [1589.]

[*From the Lansdowne MS.* LXII, fol. 22.]

ARTICLES EXHIBITED BY THE COMPANIE OF MERCHAUNTES TRADINGE TO RUSSIA AGAINST HIEROM HORSSEY.

Firste, to omitte many deceiptes and falshoodes committed by him whilest he was servaunte to the Companie, to theire greate damage and hindraunce, and to touche the last, which the Companie take to have bene the grounde of all the late disturbaunce and spoyle of theire trade, whilest to cloke that abuse, he came into courses as well dishonorable to the State as mischievous to the Companie,—the Companie doe saye and will averre and prove,

That Hierom Horssey, havinge given up a false accompte

to the Companies agent in *anno* 1584, and therein forged and surmised mens names to be debtores for great sommes of money for commodities soulde them, whearas in deede there weare noe such men in beinge but ymagined men, confederated with Anthonie Marshe; whome wee take as guiltie as the other, althoughe not soe able to goe throughe with thenterprize, to cause a restrainte to be made that noe Englishman should be suffered to goe into England with anie letters, to thend that the agent should not be able to advertise the Companie howe he delte with them in his accomptes.

The meanes of transporte of letters beinge denyed by anie Englisheman to be sent overlande, the agent tooke the oportunitie of the passage of a Pole merchaunt which went from the Musko overland to Polonia, and sent one Hornebie, the Companies servaunte, to overtake the merchaunt, and to deliver him a packett of letters of advise into Englande, howe to prepare the nexte vyage.

This beinge knowne to Horssey and Marshe, they layed wayte which waye Hornebie was gone with the letters, and repaired to the Lord Boris Fedorowich and Andrea Shalcan, and informed them that Robert Peacocke, the agent, had sent away an Englishman out of the countrie with letters offensive to the State.

Hereuppon Hornebie beinge taken [and] broughte backe againe, the letters examyned, which conteyned onelie matters of advise touchinge trade, he was tossed up by the armes uppon a jubite, his armes unjoynted, had xxiiij lashes with a wyer whippe, and was afterwardes put to the fyer to have bene rosted; whose innocencie, and constancie in purginge himself to be free from all treacherie, moved the Lord Boris to take him from the fyer and to spare his lief. Which Hornebie, yf he had by his weakenes and thextremitie of torture confessed any thinge tendinge to treason, the agent had bene executed and the Companies goodes confiscated.

The like torture was used to a Russe merchaunte that gave Robert Peacock, the agent, intelligence that he mighte have conveyaunce for his letters by waie of Polonia; and another Russe that accompanied Hornebie as his guide was soe used.

John Chapele, the assistent to the agent, was by Horsseys meanes ymprisoned almost a yeare, in question to have bene executed, and 4700 markes taken from him, seased to the Emperores use; whereof the Companie weare never restored to above one thowsande markes.

Thomas Wynnington, an Englisheman, was by him sent for from St. Nicholas to the Musko, and broughte up in irons as a prysoner and theire ymprisoned, and paied 100 markes which Horssey had: and this punishment was layde uppon him for that he discovered to the Companie the injuries done to them by theire servauntes.

He procured the ymprisonment of one Richard Silke, an Englisheman, his wief and children; who weare tormented in prison, and an ymposition of 1000 markes layde uppon them and paid to the Emperor.

He ymprisoned one Finche, an Englisheman. He was put in greate feare to have bene executed, but uppon greate entreatie he was released againe; and, havinge released him, he vaunted unto him in this manner, viz.—"Who broughte Wynnington, Silke, and thee, Finche, to ymprisonment, but Hierom Horssey? What straunger in all Russia is able to doe that Horssey can doe? Whose person, whose wief and children, are not at Horsseys commaundement?"

This torture, affliction, and ymprisonment, beinge inflicted uppon Hornebie and Chaple without just cause, the Emperor and his Counsell, doubtinge howe this would be taken, and howe it might stande with the league and amitie betweene her Majestie and him, could fynde noe fitt instrument in all Russia of the Emperores owne subjectes to send over to the Queenes Majestie with the complainte of thes pretended treasons, but Hierom Horssey, who would either maynteyne the tenour of

the letters, or bringe him worde backe againe howe thes matters weare disgested here.

He willinglie undertooke this ymployment, althoughe the Lord Boris Fedorowich asked him howe he durst goe into Englande; and, for his better securitie, he practized with the said Lord Boris Fedorowich to send for Robert Peacocke, to require him that he should write nothinge into England against Hierom Horssey and Anthonie Marshe.

The letters he brought over consisted uppon thes pointes; viz., a complainte against Sir Hierom Bowes, her Majesties late ambassadour, of his behaviour in Russia; the like complainte against Robert Peacocke and John Chaple, who weare chardged to practise the disturbaunce of the State of Russia; the Emperores dislike of the enterteynment of his enterpreter Reignold Beckeman, that he was noe better enterteyned by the Lord Threasurer and Mr. Secretorie, and seemeth to sett lighte of the trade or of her Majestics amitie; and in the same letter concludeth that Hierom Horssey must retorne againe with aunsweare from her Majestie with expedition, that the Emperor might knowe the state of all thinges. Uppon which wordes we doe inferre that choyce was made of Hierom Horssey, that he might bringe worde and notice to the Emperor with what countenance thes greate wronges and injuries weare borne by her Majestic, her Counsell and the Companie, which noe Russe shoulde be able to doe.

Thes letters requiringe aunsweare by Horsseys retourne restrayned the Companie that they durst not sewe to her Majestie for the stayinge of him heare, althoughe they knewe him to have bene the worker of theire troubles. But he, seeinge the Companie had intelligence of the injury he had done them, to staye theire proceedinge and complainte against him, undertooke to pacifie all thes troubles and to procure an inlargement of all thinges, soe he might have the Queenes letters in his favour; which weare obteyned for

him; wherein her Highenes vouchsafed him the title of her servaunte.

He contented not himself to followe his commission, which was to bringe the Emperores letters to her Majestie, but, because he would seeme a man in greate accoumpte and favour in Russia, he presumed to tell the Queene that he had order from the Empres to move her Majestie to send her a midwief, signifieinge to her Majestie that she was five monethes gone with childe. Who, uppon his motion, gave order to the Companie to provide one; which was done, and sent over accordinglie. But Hierom Horssey, remembringe himself better when he came into Russia, durst not vouch the bringinge over of the midwief, but lefte her foure hundred myles from the Musko, where she stayed a whole yeare and then retourned into England againe, havinge chardged the Companie one waye and other to the vallewe of one hundred poundes, and never was presented to the Emperes.

When he came into Russia with the Queenes letters, he bare himself so boulde uppon the title of her servaunte, that he would place and displace the agent at his pleasure. He wrote himself Hierom Horssey, president. He would dispose of the government of our people as he listed, alledginge that nether the agent nor Companie shuld take from him that the Queene had geven him under her highenes letters pattentes; nether thoughte he the Companie soe madd to take awaye the superioritie given him by the Queene and counsell.

He would laye violent handes of the agent and all other the Companie people in Russia, who thoughte yt better to beare his blowes then to be broughte by accusation to the torture of the Russe; and, for feare of displeasure, compelled some to certifie under theire handes into England at his request that which by theire letters ymediatelie they

encountered, and all to gett him out of the countrie and to be ridd of him from amongst them.

He defaced a merchaunte sent with her Majesties letters into Russia, and said he was but a *tolmache*, viz., an interpreter to a bricklayer; which is in the opinion of the Russe a contemptible thinge. Soe jelous was he of the ymployment of anie man from her Majestie, that he thought his reputation might be ympared.

He caused the Companies warehowses to be sealed up for a debte due to the Emperor of 4000 markes, which himselfe borowed, pretendinge that he was to goe into England and to bringe the agent over with him in displeasure; which was a greate discredite to the Companie.

And whereas he, by vertue of her Majesties letters, obteyned and brought over with him, two years since, a graunt of privilidge for the Companie, free of all custome, which privilige is called in againe, and, as yt is said by her Majesties late ambassador, was constantlie affirmed by Andrea Shalcan to be either never graunted by the Emperor, or unorderlie gotten out under seale. But, howsoever yt was graunted, yt nowe ceaseth; and the custome which the Companie saved therebie, yf anie thinge be saved, was only 1060 robles, which is notwithstandinge demaunded of our agent, and standeth onelie respited, but not absolutelie cleared. Soe that this service, which he pretendeth is soe greate a benifite to the Companie, doeth noe way ballaunce the injury and losse which his practizes hath brought to ther comon state. And althoughe he would undertake to goe over againe and obteyne the paiement of all those goodes scased by the Emperor, and unjustlie taken from the Companie, since his disturbaunce practised (which amounteth to xij thowsand robles or markes), the Companie had rather redresse thes injuries otherwise as they can, by her Majesties gratious meanes and your honours advise, then to relie uppon anie treatie of his, or wherein he shall beare anie rule or

order; for that they knowe there is no end of his practises, nor any measure of his wastfull hande; neither shall theire goodes be free from seasures soe long as he shall beare any swaye in theire trade.

And, lastlie, forasmuch as the Emperor, in his last letters to the Queenes Majestie, hath expresslie forbidden the retourne of Horssey anie more into his countrie, to deale in the merchantes affayres, and his counsell hath given warninge to our agent that, if Horssey or Marshe retourne againe into Russia, they will hange them, wee are of opinion that to employe him againe thether cannot but be taken a greate contempte of the Companie against soe expresse warninge to the contrarie. [1589.]

[*From the State Paper Office.—Russian Correspondence.*]

THE MANER OF THE IMPLOYMENT OF HIEROM HORSEY IN THE SERVICE OF HER MAJESTIE AND IN THE SERVICE OF THE EMPEROUR OF MUSKOVIA, FROM HIM TO HER MAJESTIE. [1585-1590].

Anno 1585. The Emperour of Muskovia used the sayde Hierom Horsey as his messenger hether to her Majestie, with a letter of complaynte against Sir Hierom Bowes his behaviour in Russia, agaynst Roberte Pecocke and John Chappell, agentes for the merchauntes there; from which Chappell there was taken of the Companies goodes of the valewe of 5,700 markes, and confiscated, whereof there was never restitution made but 1000 markes. The agentes were unjustlie charged to have practised treason agaynst the state. Hierom Horsey beinge the messenger that was to solicite thes letters and to bringe answere thereof, the Companie had intelligence from oute of Russia that the sayde messen-

ger was the onlie mover of the troubles layde uppon the sayde agentes, and had particular information howe to charge him therewith, which they purposinge to doe, were stayed by meanes of his frendes, whoe undertooke in his behalf that, if the Company woulde forbeare to disgrace him and make sewte for her Majesties letters to be returned by him, he woulde undertake to sett streighte all things that were amisse in Russia, and by the meanes of the sayde letters to performe many other good offices for theyre benefyte, as the obteninge of the restitution of theyre goods, and newe priveledges of free traffique.

Hereuppon, the Company and he grewe to unytie and agreemente, and they gave him all the furtherance that coulde be devysed by theire honorrable good frendes for her Majesties letters.

Whereuppon, he returned with the Queenes letters in answere to the Emperour; her Majesties letters conteyning a very ample and an honorable tretie for the priveledges of the merchants. Anno 1586.

Solicytinge these letters of her Majestie with the favour of the Lord Boris, a priveledge was graunted freed of custome; which doone, the Lord Boris woulde not suffer it to be delyvered to the sayde Horsey, but sente for the agente, Roberte Pecocke, and the Companies factours; before whom he delyvered the same with this protestation, that he had obteyned for the merchants at her Majesties request without chardge to theyme a free priviledge, which shall cost them nothinge, usinge only these wordes further, *vidz.*—"But Hierom hath ernestly called uppon it."

Hierom Horsey returned into Englande with these priviledges, and havinge beene heere a certen tyme resorted to the Companie with a greate demaunde of recompence, as namelie a 1000 marke for his charges layde oute aboute the same, and 1000 li. for his paynes. Anno 1587.

To these demaunds the Companie made answere, that for

the charges in obteyninge the priveledg there was noe cause he shoulde demaunde any thinge; for the Lord Boris delyvered theyme with protestation for her Majesties sake he obteyned of the Emperour a free priveledge, and that without chardge. And as touchinge his paynes, he was not to vallewe it as a man that wente out of England into Russia of purpose to doe such a service, and uppon noe other occasion, for that his returne was of necessetie uppon the Emperours busynes, and solicytinge of her Majesties letters which he carryed coulde deserve noe such gratuety, beinge a thinge which mighte have beene done as well by the agent as by him.

Uppon this, bearinge himself boulde of his honorable frendes, he convented the Company before Mr. Vice-chamberlayn and Mr. Secretory, whom he had incensed that the Company had dealte hardelie with him; before whom the Company were required to alledge theire reasons they coulde against his demaunds. Who beganne to sett furth the losses which they had susteyned by the troble of Roberte Pecocke and John Chappell, theyre agents, and the goodes taken from Chappell, with other losses growing by Hierom Horsey's meanes, which standinge uppon many particulars they were required to sette theyme downe in wrytinge.

Accordinge to which direction they proceeded to set these things downe in wrytinge, with a declaration of the originall grounde of the practise of Horsey and Marshe to bringe the agents in troble; but whylest these things were in hande and the corse therof discovered to Hierom Horsey, he, fearinge the evente of the same, fledd awaye sodenly into Russia.

Anno 1588. Afterwardes, the Company dowbtinge his returne into Russia woulde breede theim newe broyles, and beinge geven to understande that custome was still required, notwithstandinge the late priveledg enterteyned, obteyned Mr. Doctour Fletcher to be imployed thether as her Majesties ambassa-

dour, in whose trety the pryveledges were sett downe as an article to be confirmed, and that the Emperour would be pleased to sende over Hierom Horsey backe agayne into England.

Hierom Horsey, beinge at that tyme in the Emperours disgrace for certen things wherewith he was charged, was delyvered to Doctour Flecher as a prisoner to be brought over, with a chardge not to returne agayne into Russia.

The lyke chardge was geoven to the Company, that yf eyther Horsey or Marshe did returne agayne into Russia it shoulde coste them theyre lyves.

Notwithstandinge this, Horsey, for pryvate respects of his owne, made meane to be imploied agayne with the Queens letters; whose imployment the Company withstoode by all possible meanes, geovinge notice of his daunger if he returned, and the Companies daunger for the contempte in sufferinge him to returne; which matter was over ruled with her Majesties occasions. Anno 1589.

[*From the State Paper Office.—Russian Correspondence.*]

A BRIEF COLLECTION OF THE CAUSE OF JEROME HORSEYS IMPLOYMENT FROM HER MAJESTY TO THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA; THE TREU CAUSES WHIE ANDRO SHALKAN HATH WRITEN IN THE EMPEROR'S LETTERS SO SHARPE AGAINST HIS IMPLOIE HERAFTER THITHER; AND HOW THAT THE CHARGES HE HATH DISBURST OF HIME SELF IS NOT YET ALOWED BY THE COMPANYE.

At what tyme Mr. Doctor Fletcher was imploied from here Majesty unto the Emperour of Muscovia, I was comaunded by right honnorable personadges owt of England to asist him with all my best knowledge to the effectinge of his negotiation; the which I did to my uttermost. Wherupon, an anchient enymie of our nation, which we terme Chauncelour, one Andrew Shalkan, seinge great

matter against him for abuses done by him, thought all the ambassodors proceedings against him was by my instigation. And so he practised to prevent and revenge the same with a lewde servant of myne, to imagen some speache against me that should sounde dishonnorable to the Emperour and statte, and to be spoken by me in conference with the ambassador. The which, to purchase his lewd libertye, he did most falsly. But the prince, who then favored me very hightly, being four hondred mils of, Shalkan tocke that oportunitey and produced this prectise before the King to serve his purpose. The boye was rebaptised and rewarded, and I sent home in disgrace of the Kinge. Then Mr. Fletcher, being called before some of the Counsalle and charged therewith, offered to take it upon his salvation that ther was no such thing. But then and often he urged very ernestly what particulers could be alcaged of any bade dealings of myne, and by what authoritey such a generall complainte could be avouched before the Quens Majesty of England. Wherupon, they being at a stey, loking one upon another, the said Andrew Shalkan said he would shew the ambassador a letter of my owne hand writing, of high treason against the Emperor and his countrye, wherby I had deserved death, which for her Majesty's sacke the prince Boris Fedorowich would not suffer. The letter was shewed, and only that pointe to be copied owt for Mr. Fletcher to delyver unto the Quene; which was that, in anno 1580, I wrate a letter from the Courte at Musco to the seaside to the Companies agente, marveling that the Company would permytt any straunger, as Fleming or French, to deprive them of ther trade and coming by the north withe shipping and merchandices to the portte which they hade first found owt and longe contynewed, to ther great cost and charge, which if they would not I would undertake to remedy my self one wey or other. For this I was accompted ane enymey to the Emperor and countrye, preing the Quene I might be im-

ploied no more: the trewth and certentey herof was referred by the Emperor's letter to be fathfully delyvered to the Quene. In this meane tyme the Prince or Lord Protector wrate his letters, both to Mr. Fletcher, unto the Company and to myselfe (reddy to be shewed), the cyrcomstance what he had hard of this matter, willing me not to gryve or take thought, he was my frend and ever would remaine, and contynew his lov and favour towards me assewrely, excusing the cause he could not see me for the death of his sone; and that I should withdraw myself for a tyme. After my coming into England I considered with myself how wrongly I was delt withall by the Chauncelour. Here Majesty having a most gracious remorse of me and pitieng my hard succese, I besought Mr. Secretary Walsinghame thorrowly to understand the great dishonnors shewed towards her Majesty by an officer of the Emperors, one Andro Shalkan, which I knew by experience very hightly towched her Majestys dignitey; which Mr. Fletcher could not but indevour for the present tyme that I might be imploied from her Majesty with her Highnes sharpe dislycke therof, as the only meane to daunte there inchrochfull disposition being accordingly handled; and I carienge that mynde also to make some reformation of the abuses and ingures done unto the Company by the said Andrew Shalkan, with that being done then to procure and gett in such substance I had in the countrye resting uppon my formour soden departure very douptfull.

At my first aryvall I had indiferent exceptance and treated of all causes very orderlie, untill the said Andrew Shalkan was thorowlie towched therein, and brought unto such an extremytey before the lord high treasorours and others upon his salvation to aunswer to my objections, throughout detract of tyme, great syvell decensions growinge emonge the nobilty there, he taking oportnytey, joyned with such cross means and suggestions which some of the Company have

conveyed from hens in writinge, hindred al the procedings I had begone, standinge uppon termes and vyes, saeing they were not the Quens letters I brought, nether her hand and sealle, and done withowt her knowledg; invented all the mischief he could against me. As apereth by the Emperours letters, done and sent by him, conteyning and renewing the former matter, with complaint in generall termes, grounded altogether upon his owne mallice; as may be well perceved by the tennour therof and the trew examination of Mr. Doctor Fletcher by the Quenes Majesty's owne persone: thincking therby to frame his purpose with the Companyes humour, which is that, and only required, I might not be further imploied by her Majesty to the Emperor to laye open his dealings and to prosecute that coerse which is begone against him. Notwithstanding the Prince Boris Fedorowiche, whoe carieth the whole majesty of goverment, alweys dislyked his dealings, which he covereth conningly towards him. His letters maketh no mention of any thinge that should towch my creditte, but alweys hertofore both the Emperour and he did wright highly in my comendation, wherof was small notice taken; yet nowe the oportunitey, withowt further consideration of the contents of the Emperor's letter, is prectised to be brought in question against me by some, which wil be a confirmation to the doupt made by the Quens letters and plcasur, resting yet in dispence with the Prince throught Shalkans ernesty, althought they ar under her Majesty's hand and sealle, and confirmed by the right honorable Lords of the Counsell ther letters comendatory. And [it] cannot but be dislicked of the prince, Boris Fedorowiche, that no creditt shal be geven to his letters ever so writen in my behalf and favour; and I ame assewred it cannot be that the great favour and love he hath alweys boren unto me, aparant to the worlde, is whollie extingwished; aspacially in such sortt as to lyke of any hard measur should be offered me, knowing with himself all is

said and done of mallice against me, if at lest wey he be acquainted therwith. And sewrly yt is a lamentable thinge that, throught fals sugestions aleged by some of the Companie to serve ther purpose, and do thincke therby to put me from and deprive me of my chargis disburst owt of myne owne purse, besides my recompence in procuring them fre priveleges, which they do yet injoye, and the same now confirmed throught the means of the right honnorable Lord Hight Treasorour of England, by a concurse of great love which passeth betwen the prince and his honnour, besids the consideration of the chardge and great expences I have now ben at in so trowblesome and tedious a journnye as ever man hath past, beinge ment and whollie pretended for ther only good, whatsoever successe it hath pleased God to geav therunto; which if in reason they shall refuse to doe I doupt not but the Lord will move her Majesty's heartte and her honnorable counsalors to have them ordered by such a corse as will stand with her Highnes dignitey, there honnor, and relief of me her Majesty's pore servant.

No. IV.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE EMBASSY OF DR. GILES FLETCHER TO THE RUSSIAN COURT.

[*From the Lansdowne MS.* LX, art. 59.]

[ACCOUNT BY DR. GILES FLETCHER OF HIS EMBASSY TO THE COURT OF RUSSIA, 1588, 1589.][1]

THE summe of my negotiation.

I. My intertainment.

II. The causes of my hard intertainment.

III. What is doon and brought to effect.

IV. What could not be obteined on beehalf of the marchants.

I. *My intertainment.*

My whole intertainment from my first arivall till towards the very end, was such as if they had divised meanes of very purpose to shew their utter disliking both of the trade of the Marchants and of the whole English nation.

1. At my arriving at the Mosko thear was no man to bidd mee wellcoom, not so much as to conduct mee upp to my lodging.

2. After I had stayed two or three dayes to see if anie wellcoom or other message would coome from the Emperour,

[1] Printed in the "Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men," edited by Sir Henry Ellis, for the Camden Society: London, 1843; p. 79.

or the Lord Boris Federowich Godonove, I sent my interpreter to the saied Lord Boris, to desier him to be a meanes for audience to the Emperour, that, having doon my ambassage to the Emperour, I might doe my message, and deliver my lettres likewise to him. My interpritor having attended him two or three dayes, without speaking with him, was commaunded by the Chauncellour to coom no more at the Court, nor to the howse of the said Lord Boris.

3. The Counsell was commaunded not to conferr with mee, nor I to send to anie of them.

4. When I had audience of the Emperour in the verie entrance of my speach I was cavilled withall by the Chauncellour, bycawse I saied not forth the Emperours whole style, which of purpose I forbare to doe, bycawse I would not make his stile of two ellnes and your highnes stile of a span long; having repeated the first and principall parts of it and giving him the titles of Great Lord Duke and Emperour of all Russia, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, etc., I answeared him that the Emperour was a mightie prince, and had manie countries which straungers could not nor wear not bound to know, that I repeated the principall of his stile, to shew my honour to the rest. But it would not serve till all was repeated.

5. The presents sent by your Highnes to the Emperour, and delivered to him in his own presence, wear the day following retourned to mee, and very contemptuouslie cast down beefore mee.

6. My articles of petition delivered by woord of mouth, and afterwards by writing, with all other writings, wear altered and falsified by the Emperours interpreter, by meanes of the Chauncellour Andreas Shalcalove; speciallie whear it concerned himself, manie things wear putt in and manie things strook out, which being complained of and the points noted would not bee redressed.

7. I was placed in an howse verie unhandsoom, unhol-

soom, of purpose (as it seemed) to doe me disgrace, and to hurt my health, whear I was kept as prisoner, not as an ambassadour.

8. I was not suffred to send anie lettre into England by the winter way, to signifie of my proceedings, not so much as of my health, though I desired it earnestlie.

9. My allowance for vittail was so bare and so base, as I could not have accepted it but to avoid cavillation that I began to contend with them about so mean a matter.

10. At my retourn, at Vologda, open proclamation was made by the duke and diake thear, by order from the Chauncellour Andreas Shalcalove, that no man should hier owt horse or boat to anie Englishman: which bredd an opinion in the people thear that thear was great matter of disliking from the Emperour towards the English nation, which was a cawse of great daunger towards mee and my companie; and of the firing of the English howse at Colmigore (as appeared by the sequeal) whear the Companie of English marchants lost to the valiew of six or seven thowsand marks.

These parts of hard interteinment wear offred mee by Chauncellour Andreas Shalcalove, who is allso the officer for Ambassages, of verie purpose (as it seemed) to move mee to impatience, that hee might have wearwith to disturb this busines. And thearfore I determined with my self to use all moderation, so farr as might stand with your Highnes honour, that, if other meanes of faire treatie prevailed not with them, I might make soom advantage of my hard interteinment towards the end of my negotiation, by layeng it all in on dish beefore them, and applieng it to your Highnes dishonour (as indeed it was); which beeing doon in as earnest and vehement manner as I could devise with discreation, brought them to some remorse of their former dealings, and so to yeild divers points and in a manner all that I intreated of them, in recompence of their hard interteinment given

mée beefore, whearof they desired mee to make the best to your highnes at my retourn home.

II. *The causes of my hard intertainment.*

1. Since the loss of the Narve, the Russ hath divised by all meanes hee could to dissolve the trade that way (whearbie hee thinketh the enimie is enriched) and to bring it over to the port of St. Nicholas. This had been doon long since in the other Emperours time, but for a speciall affection hee bare towards your Highnes, which staied him from that which otherwise hee intended. This purpose of reducing the whole trade from the Narve to the port of St. Nicholas, they suppose to bee hindred speciallie and onlie by the Coompanie of the English marchants and their privileadged trade, beeing assured by the Hanses, Neitherlanders and Frenchmen, that, if the Companie of the English marchants wear cast of and their privileadge dissolved, they should presentlie have a famous and notable trade at their saied port of St. Nicholas, which should much encrease the Emperours coustoom. Upon hope whearof, they have built a town and castle abowt xxx miles within the river that falleth into the bay or road of St. Nicholas. And this is the cheefe grownd of their dislike towards the Companie of the English marchants and their priveleadged trade.

2. It was informed to the Emperour and his Counsell, by lettres and message out of England, that the saied Companie was utterlie disliked by your Highnes, by your counsell, by all the marchants of England, speciallie of late, having reduced themselves to the nomber of xij, and so beeing now more notable monopoliers then they weare beefore; that, in case they wear cast of, they showld have a farr greater trade of English marchants, of 20, 30, or 40 sail a year, which would bee content to pay whole coustoom, and be used as common men; that on man would trade for as much as the

whole Companie now doth; that your Highnes would like it better to have the Companie dissolved, and the trade laied open for all your subjects alike, then to have anie privileadge confirmed to the saied Companie at this time, for that it would increase your Majesties coustoom hear, as it doth the Emperours thear. As for your Highnes lettres written at this time on the Companies behalf, it was informed that the same wear gott by great importunitie; that your Highnes sett your hand to manie things which yow never read over; and for myself that I was sent but as a messenger, not as an ambassadour; that I never spake with your Highnes.

3. I found the Lord Boris Federowich Godonove so displeased with the Company that no reason nor intreatie would reconcile him. The matters that greived him I found to bee these. 1. That Hierom Horsey was so chased away by the Company (as he was imformed) being sent as a messenger from him with lettres and presents to your Highnes. In which respect (hee thincketh) hee should have been forborn at that time, for his sake; and accounteth it his dishonour that hee was retowrned in that sort. 2. For that hee was not provided of certein perticulars, which hee sent for to the Companie; as horse, armour, pearle, etc. 3. For that his late present to your Highnes by Hierom Horsey was dishonoured and disgraced by the said Companie, by whose meanes (as he is untrulie informed) it was divided into two parts; the on from the Emperour (who sent them no present) the other from himself, whearby the grace and honour of his present was defaced as hee thought.

4. When I arrived at the Mosko, I found a league in hand betwixt the Emperour and the King of Spain, about an opposition against the Turk. To which purpose an ambassadour was appointed to goe into Spain, on Peter Ragon, a Slavonian and the Emperours interpreter. This league was sett forward by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who, beeing banished by the Turk, had been with the Pope, and was

sent by him to the Emperour of Russia, as well to treat abowt this new league betwixt him and the Spanish king, as to reduce the Russ from under the Greek to the Latine Church. For the effecting whearof hee thought their own Patriarch (beeing thus banished and discontented) to bee the likeliest meanes. This treatie of league with the Spaniard was a cause of more sadd countenance towards mee at my first arrivall. But after your Highnes victorie against the King of Spain was well known thear (which I understood by lettres sent mee by Sir Francis Drake, which I cawsed to bee translated into the Russ toongue togeather with your Highnes oration made to the armie in Essex), all this conceipt of a Spanish league vanished away.

5. I found at the Mosko an other ambassadour sent from the Emperour of Almaign, to treat of a confeaderacie with the Russ Emperour against the Polonian, that is over mightie for the Russ by the access of Sweaden. This ambassadour (as if hee had been sent for nothing ells) inveighed against the doings of England; made small account of the Spanish defeat; assuring them that the King of Spain would sett on again, and make a conquest of your Highnes realmes. These and like suggestions made them woorse affected then otherwise they would have been; and by cawse they wear desirous to conclude this league with the Emperour of Allmain, having for that purpose sent unto him for this ambassage, they wear the more willing to gratifie his ambassadour with my hard intertainment.

1. To the first I answeared them, that to perform this device was a matter impossible; that the marchants that use to trade by the way of the Sound would never be brought to leave a knowne, safe, and speedie trade, for so long, tedious, and daungerous a course as lieth by the way of St. Nicholas. That in case your Highnes wear, and the Companie of marchants, so requited for their discoverie and other desert, having served the Emperour so manie yeares with necessarie

commodities for his warrs, etc., when the other way by the Narve was quite shutt upp, and thus dishonoured by rejecting your petition and presents, and they should assure themselves neither to have the English nor any other marchant to trade that way to the port of St. Nicholas, that your Highnes both could and would provide for your own honour and good of your marchants, by stopping that way, and not suffer them thus to bee spoiled both of their privileadge and goods; and this they might consider, what inconvenience it would grow unto, if, the Narve passage being shutt upp by the Sweaden, the other way also by the port of St. Nicholas wear debarred from them, so that they showld have no way to vent their own commodities nor to receive in forreign, speciallie powder, saltpeeter, brimstone, lead, etc., necessarie for the Emperours warrs. With these and like pointes, I did what I could to beat them from that grownd.

2. To the second; I assured them that I receaved my charge and instructions from your Majestie; that your Highnes had a speciall care what was doon at this time on the beehalf of your marchants, whom yow accounted not as mousicks or base people (as they termed them) but as verie speciall and necessarie members of your comon wealth; and thearfore made your suit to the Emperour at this time, as a full experiment of his good will and affection towards your Majestie. And as for the increasing of your Highnes coustoom, you made more account of your honour and continuing of the graunt made to the Companie of your marchants by your Majestie and your predecessors, for the incouragement of your subjects to the like enterprises for discovering of new trades, etc., then yow did of the enlarging of your coustoomes, or anie matter of commoditie whatsoever. That your Highnes coustoom could no whitt bee increased by this meanes, forasmuch as the whole countrey of Russia was not able to receave so much of English commodities as wear now brought yearlie by the said Companie of marchants, their

lead, copper and other commodities, lyeng still upon their agents hand, and they never uttering past 130 or 140 clothes yearlie, whearas other English marchants in one small towne of Germanie vent 60 or 80 thowsand clothes yearlie.

3. To the third; to remove thet conceipt owt of the Lord Boris, I assured him of your Highnes very speciall affection and great good opinion of him. That your Highnes thought your self allreadie greatlie beeholding to him; that you desired to bee beholding to none but to him for this good tourn towards your marchants. That your Highnes, beeing the best and thankfullest prince in the world, would not be unmindfull of his good desert, whearof you had given mee a charge to assure him in your name. As for the Companie of marchants, they should and would bee readie to make him amendes if they had given him anie just cawse of offence, etc.

III. *What is effected in this busines.*

Concerning the matters of league and friendshipp betwixt your Highnes and the Emperour, it is receaved in verie kinde sort, and profession made of like good will and other correspondencie as was beefore beetwixt your Highnes and the Emperours father.

1. Thear is remitted of the debt made by one Anthonie Marsh and claimed from the Companie, amounting to the somme of twentie three thowsand five hundred and three marks, two partes of three with an overplus, so that thear remaineth to bee paied by the marchants but 7800 marks.

2. Thear is remitted them besides at this tyme by the Emperour the sume of 1840 rubbells or marks, claimed and exacted before of the agent for coustoom of the last year.

3. Farther, thear is remytted by the Emperour 300 marks claimed for rent for their house at the Mosko.

4. Concerning their priviledge of trade (which I found to bee of no account at my cooming thither) but infringed

in all the principall points of it (coustom, howse-rent, etc., beeing claimed of them) thear is graunted in effect all that I required on the beehalf of the Companie, save that half-coustoom is claimed hearafter. This beeing doon, they promise a continuance of the privileadge for ever without anie revocation. The additionalls now made to the former privileadge are these—

That the Companie shall trade freelie down the river Volgha into Media, Persia, Bougharia, etc., and no stranger shalbee permitted trade that way but they.

That present paiment shalbee made to the agent hearafter for all commodities that are taken of the Companie for the Emperours use by his treasurers and other officers.

That a great charge shalbe given to all the Emperours officers, that no exaction bee made hearafter upon the Companie, contrarie to their privileadge.

That (to prevent all inconvenience that may happen hearafter) none shalbe accounted to bee of the Companie or for their affaiers in that countrey, but shalbee enrigistred by the agent in writing, in the office of the Treasurie; and this is to bee added as an article to the privileadge.

That such as are so inregistred, and their names stroken owt afterwards by the agent, shall no longer be reputed for the Companies servants, or to have to doe in their affaiers.

That no Englishman hearafter shalbee sett on the pudkey, or otherwise tormented, for anie suspition of cryme whatsoever, but onlie safe kept till his Majestie bee informed and the truth of the cawse thorowghlie knowne.

That all commodities shalbee transported free, save wax, to bee bartred for saltpeetre, powder and brimstone.

That the Companie of English marchants shall not be hearafter under the office of Andreas Shalcan, but pertein to the office of the Treasurie, so that they may appeal to the Lord Boris Federowich Godonove if they thinck they have wrong.

That the privileadg graunted to the Companie with these additions shalbee proclaimed and made knowne to all the Emperours authorized people.

IV. *What is not graunted on the marchants beehalf.*

Bysides the 7800 marks which ar exacted of the Companie of marchants, thear is deteined allso from the saied Companie the summe of 1100 marks or thear abowtes, which was sezed on and taken away perforce by Andreas Shalcalove, Chauncellour to the Emperour, owt of the hands of one Anthonie Marsh. The cawse of this injust deteinment is this. The Chauncellour this last year had his goods confiscat (to the valiew of 60,000 marks in money, bysides other stuff and commodities) in the Emperours name, but indeed to the use of Lord Boris and other of the Godonoves that use the Emperours authoritie at their pleasure. Among which goods was the said some of 11,000 rubbells belonging to Anthonie Marsh. Which beeing once possessed by the said Lord Boris and other of his name, not as Marsh's goods, but as the Chauncellours due to the Emperour by confiscation, could not be recovered from their hands, the Chauncellour denieng that ever hee receaved any such goods, notwithstanding the evident prooves alleadged by mee to the contrarie.

[*From the Lansdowne MS.* CXII, art. 30.]

THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO MUSCOVY TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL, LORD HIGH TREASURER, FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF DR. FLETCHER'S BOOK "OF THE BUSSE COMMONWEALTH."

To the right honorable Sir William Cecell, Knight, Lord High Treasurer of England.

The Companie of merchauntes tradinge to Muskovia, havinge bene manie waies prejudiced by the errors which have bene committed by her Majesties subjectes emploied by the Companie in those partes, in givinge offence or some smale color of offence to the government of the state of the countrie of Russia, doe greatelie feare that a booke latelie sett out by Mr. Doctor Fletcher, dedicated to her Majestie, intituled 'the Russe Commonwealth,' will turne the Companie to some great displeasure with the Russe Emperour, and endaunger bothe theire people and goodes nowe remayninge there, except some good order be taken by your lordships honorable consideration for the callinge in of all the bookes that are printed, and some cowrse holden therein signifyinge her Majesties dislike of the publishinge of the same. In which booke (besides the discowrse of the description of the countrie), the militarie government and forces thereof, the Emperours revenue, and howe yt ryseth (which is offensive to the Russe that anie man should looke into), the person of the Emperour, his father, his brother, and the Lord Boris Fedorowich the Protector, and generallie the nature of the people, are towched in soe harde tearmes, as that the Companie doupt the revenge thereof will light on theire people and goodes remayning in Russia, and utterlie overthrowe the trade for ever. Out of which booke, for your lordship's readines, there is hereunder noted certen places offensive, wherof the whole discowrse is full.

In the epistle dedicatorie of the booke he tearmeth the Russe government a strange face of a tirannycall state.

The intollerable exactions of the Emperour uppon his subjectes maketh them carelesse to laye up anie thinge, for that yf they have ought, yt causeth them to be spoyled not onlie of theire goodes but of their lives. Fol. 9 b. [p. 13.]

In shewinge the likelihoode of the ende of the whole race of the Emperour concluded in one, two, or some fewe of the bloud, he saieth there is noe hope of yssue in the Emperour by the constitution of his bodie and the barenes of his wief. Fo. 16. [p. 21.]

He noteth there the death of the Emperours elder brother, murthered by his father in his furie, whose death was the murtheringe of the olde Emperour by extreame greefe.

He noteth what practisinge there hath bene, by such as aspire to the succession, to destroye the younger brother of the Emperouer that is yet livinge, beinge aboute sixe yeares olde, wherein he seemeth to ayme at Boris Fedorowich. Fol. 16 b. [p. 22.]

He noteth in that younge infant an inclination to crueltie resemblinge his father, in delighte of bloude, for that he beinge but sixe yeares olde taketh pleasure to looke into the bleedinge throtes of beastes that are killed, and to beate geese and hens with a staffe untill they dye.

The Russe government is plaine tirannycall, and exceedeth all just measure, without regard of nobilitie or people, gevinge to the nobillitie a kinde of unjuste and unmeasured libertie to exact on the baser sorte of people. Fol. 20 a. [p. 26.]

If the late Emperour in his progresse had mett a man whose person or face he had not liked, or if he looked uppon him, he would commaunde his heade to be stricken of and to be cast before hime. Fol. 21 b. [p. 28.]

The practise of the Godonoes to extinguishe the bloud royall, who seeke to cut of or keape downe the best of the nobilitie. Fol. 26 b. 27 a. [p. 35.]

Fol. 33 b. [p. 44.] That yt is to be merveled howe the nobilitie and people will suffer themselves to be brought under suche oppression and slaverie.

Fol. 34 b. [p. 45.] That the desperate state of thinges at home maketh the people to wishe for some forrein invasion.

Fol. 37 b. [p. 49.] That Boris Godonoe and the Empresse kindred accompt all that commeth to the Emperours treasurie theire owne.

Fol. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45. [p. 54.] Divers grosse practises of the Emperour to drawe the wealth of the land into his treasurie, which he concludeth to be straunge kinde of extortions, but that yt agreeth with the qualitie of the Emperour, and the miserable subjection of the poore countrie.

Fol. 53 a. [p. 69.] Theire onlie lawe is theire speakinge lawe, that is the pleasure of the prince and magistrates, which sheweth the miserable condition of the people; against whose injustice and extreame oppression they had neede to be armed with manie good lawes.

Fol. 98, 99. [p. 122.] The practise of the Godonoes against the Emperours brother to prove him not legittimate, and to turne awaie the peoples likinge from him as next successor.

Fol. 110. [p. 144.] The discription of the Emperour, viz., meane of stature, lowe and grosse, sallowe of complexion, enclyninge to dropsey, hawcked nosed, unsteadie in his pase by reason of the weaknes of his lymes, heavie and unactive, commonlie smilinge almost to a laughter; for qualitie simple and slowe-witted; but verie gentle and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, etc.

Fol. 116. [p. 151.] It is to be doubted whether is greater the crueltie or the intemperauncie that is used in the countrie; it is so foull that is not to be named. The whole countrie overfloweth with the synne of that kinde, and noe mervell as havinge no lawe to restrayne whoredomes, adulteries, and like uncleanes of lief.

From the greatest to the smallest, except some fewe that will scarcelie be founde, the Russe nether beleeveth anie thinge that an other man speaketh, nor speaketh anie thinge himself worthie to be beleaved.

No. V.

PAPERS RELATING TO HORSEY'S MISSION TO RUSSIA IN 1590-1591.

[*State Paper Office.—Russian Correspondence.*]

THE COPPIE OF A LETTER WRITEN BY ME, J. HORSEY, TO THE LORD BORIS FEDOROWICH, AND DELYVERED UNTO HIM BY THE COMPANIES AGENT, CHRISTOPHEL HOLLME, IN MOSCO; BEING THE CONTENTS OF HER MAJESTY'S PLEASUR TO BE DELIVERED TO MY LORD TREASEWROUR.

Jerome Horsey to Lord Boris Fedorowich.

RIGHT honorable, Lord Boris Fedorowich.—At my departure from Mosco I left a letter with the Emperors deacke [*diack*], Posnycke Demetriov, to be delivered unto your lordship; and douptinge it is not fathfully done, I thought good to wryt you theffecte therof againe. Right honorable, I was told by the Emperor's high treasorour, Demenshoy Ivanowich Cheremissen, and Posnycke Demetriov, that, for the love the Emperour and you bare to the Quens Majesty, Andro Shalkan should not medell in this messaidge sent from her Majesty by me, for that he was an enyme. But sins I perceave his envious words and worckinge hath more prevaled then the Quens Majestys letters hath exceptance, he hathe not only practised to descredit the said letters under her Majestys hand and seall, but also dishonoreth the moste highe and mightie lords of her Majestys most honor-

able Privie Counsalle, in wrytinge ther letters unto your lordship, whome all the world doth reverence, honnour and belyve; wheras if the Quens Majesty had writen unto the Emperor Salomon, the letters could not be in better condition, tytell, sealle and writinge; and so it will apere, notwithstandinge his fals invention.

Lese then I should be acounted recheles in dischardinge my dewty towards my soveraigne lady and mistris the Quens most high Majesty of England, I ame now forced briflye to aquainte your honor with her Majestys pleasur by writinge, that her Highnes comaunded me to deliver by word of mouth, as by her Majesty's letters unto your lordship apereth; which, for want of eccese unto your presence, I cannot doe.

The discontentment her Majesty worthelie conceveth of the entertainment and exceptans your lordship gave to her Highnes ambassodour, letters, messadge and presence, beinge so squirilous [scurrilous] that it declared an evident spyt and contempt to her princly dignitey; which ambassaege was adressed upon request and promis made not only for redrese of most gross dealings towards her Majesty, but also for reparinge of the most inexcusable ingories, detrements susteyned by her naturall subjects her merchants; which her Highnes expected and trusted the tree would bringe forthe good frewts that was of so good a stocke, and contynewly in aparance puttinge forthe such fare buds, and therfore would hardly belyve or geave eare to any that ever aleged the deeds of the contrarye, beinge neverthelese the same deeds so manyfest as her Hightnes must neds have regarded them, had not her Majesty ben so loth to thincke evill of you her lovinge cozen and frend, the mighty Lord Borris Fedorowich, for which hight affection her Majesty thought your lordship bounde to be of the best sort towards her. Her Highness having alwaies abhorred and fled from deccnsion and enymetey, althought any princly natur might

be inforced therunto by suche just and aparant occasions, yet her Highnes doth rather impute the originalle cause to growe by the defaulte and lewdnes of some unnaturall subject officer, referringe it to a further and better advismente, as by her Majesty's articles and letters sent unto the Emperours Majesty aperethe. In the meane tyme her Majesty will premyditate the beste, and doth geave such benigne and jentell dispensation as if no such cause of displeasur or breach of amitey had occurred. Specially consideringe and acknowledging this one poynte of your kynde dealings towards her Majesty in sendinge her Hightnes those two bills of Anthony Marshes, which your lordship had in power to do therwith what had pleased you; wherin you not only shew the parte of hight honnor in dischargingе the trewth of your soulle so ryalle before God and the world, but also geven her Majesty occasion to take herself beholdinge unto your lordship, and doth geave your lordship thancks in the merchants behalf. This courtesy, joyned withe the contents of your letters, which her Majesty taketh hold of, being frendly offers alwaies, and now sent by her Highness' ambassodour, not only to excuse that was past and favoringe her subjects, but also perswadinge kyndnes and perfect amytey desolvable to inshew, which for this tyme her Majesty holdeth contented to forbare to prese your lordship over extremely in those matters, but yet desyrous to make tryall of her Majestys most lovinge cozen and friend in some corespondence of deeds, and therby to strenghthen and inlearge her Majesty's effection and good opinion hertofore conceaved of your lordship, of the which, as your lordship partly knoweth, all princes Christian maketh hight ystymation, and holdeth dew regard for the preservation therof.

Nowe towchinge my perticular cause, I meane not to be tedious to your lordship, as I never have byn hertofore overmiche for myself, but I thought all the service I could ever doe withe body and goods to lyttell, althought your

honor needeth not therof. I did ever with a cleane harte most reverently and fathfully behave myself towards you, in thought, word and dede. And this my good will with myself have somtyms byn estemed of, and your lordship hath protested deply never to forgett it, as your soule well knowethe. And yt plesed your lordship, the last yere at my departure, to wryt your favorable letter unto me at Volugday that you would not discontynew in the love and favor towards me which you have ever hertofore boren, with other which were sufficient to any mans judgment to have ventred his life upon, althogh I had not ben imployed upon her Majestys effears. I would have thought yt unpossible that the kynde and favorable good natur I ever founde in your lordship should have ben so perverted as it is, and your lordships favore and kyndnes would alwaies have ben of more force then the mallice of any perticuler man whoesoever.

The Quens Majestie doth know that the Emperours highnes is most gracious, vertuous and mercyfull, not desiros of bloshede, and doth not hold displeasur longe. But if that fals invention, made of me by my servant, throwght others investigation, had ben a trewe offence, yet doth his Majesty pardone thowsands, accountinge his mercy greater then great offences. To that effect the Quens Majestie hath besought his Highnes and your lordship also in my behaulf, and the most mighty lords of her Majestys most honorable Privie Counsalle, thoght they might have obteyned so muche frendshipe oute your lordships hands.

The Lord kyver the withe his mercy, that thou maiest consider and dispose of all matters agreable to thy wisdome, power and authorytey, that God hathe geaven thee in this world. The xxi of November, 1590.

[*From the State Paper Office.—Russian Correspondence.*]

Jerome Horsey to Lord Burleigh.

Right Honnorable,—after dewe consideratiun of dewty. Yt may please your lordshippe to be advertised, that, after a most daingerous and wearisome travell thorow Jarmania, Polonia, Letuania, and other provinces, I came upon the Emperours bordours of Russia to Smolenska, where I was well intreated in the Emprours name. And forwith, upon advertissment of my cominge, yt pleased the Emperors Majesty to send a gentleman to me, and to safconduct me to the Musco, wherat I was very well lodgged and my entertainmente not to be dislycked. Soene after the delyvery of the Quens Majestys letters yt pleased the Emperor to apoynt the hight treasowrour, Demenshoy Yvanowich Cheremissen, with one of his Majesty's secretoryes, Posnyck Demetriov, and other, to understand her Majestys pleasur and what my messadge was; whoe told me from the Lord Borris Fedorowiche howe Andrew Shalkan, ane officer of the Emperours, had deltt hardly by me in speaches, and a worcker of mischieff against the English nation, willinge me not to doupt or feare anything, but frelye to treat of that I hade in hande. Then, having delyvered her Majestys pleasur in articles with her Majestys letters to the Lord Boris Federowich, as also that comendatorie from you, the right honnorable lords of her Majestys most honorable Pryvie Counsalle, to the said Boris Federowich, all which beinge a longe tyme debated and considered upon, the said Andrew Shalkan, beinge whollie exempted to deale in these causes, for the love the Emperors Majesty and Boris Fedrowich bare to the Quens Majestie, he beinge not only towched in her Hightnes letters and articles treated of, but also now to joyne as yt were ishew with me before grave men apoynted, and to aunswer to such matters as he thought were conynglie

foelded upe for ever resytalle ; herupon, only to serve his purposed will, devised a most unreverent and fals invention against her Majesty's letters, saienge they were not in the wonted fold, wanted patynting, and not the Quens hand and sealle. This was done with such yrnesty that for the tyme it was a great obstacle in our proceadings. Wherupon yt pleased the Emperor's Majesty [to] apoynte that I should conferr with the said Andrew Shalkan and others in presence; wheras at first he would seeme to maynteyne and justifye by the pattrone of former letters this his invention and opinion, but in the end through coerse of perswasable speaches and reasons his conceat was somwhat removed; then stoed he uppon tearmes and quarells of courteses betwene us, indeed fomynge owt his owne shame. In fyne, in words and owtward aparance wee parted frends, shoecke hands and imbrased each other. Then he used speaches much lycke the tune of Mercuries pipe, but since have proved lycke the stinge of an asp.

The cyrcomstances of these matters, right honorable, indewred from Julie untille November. At which tyme there came a great ambassadg[1] from the kinge of Pollonia, so that uppon the sodane I must withdrawe myself from the Musco two daies journy to this towne Yerauslauley; and the aunswers then geven not beinge unreasonable, should so remaine indispenced, unconfirmed, untill the Emperors farther ordour.

The matters, yt maye please your lordship, I have treated of beinge drawen into articles, agreinge with her Majestys letters and pleasur receaved from her Highnes at my departure, and delyvered in comyssion under the signe of Sir Francis Walsingham of honourable memorie, and therwith the Companies causes under the princepallest of ther handewritings by order from you, the right honorable her Majestys Counsalle, herwith I send your lordship a coppie, not in

[1] The Pallentyne Podlaskonia with iii c. men: he died in the Musquo.

suche good ordour as I would willingly if tyme and place had better served me. Although I know your lordship is very well aquainted with the effect therof, yet for dyvers considerations I thought yt not amyse, and do wish I were by your honnor at the vewinge of them, to helpe your lordships memory in expleyninge upon what cause and purpose every article is grownded, as also howe your honnor may perceave that I have fathfullie dischardged myc dewty to her Majesty, and deltt honestly and frendly for the Companie, not preferringe my pryvatte cause in any respect, as some suposed my whole determynation was; if any evill disposed shall informe your lordship to the contrarye, I humbley crave your favorable dispensation, untill yt shall plese God I mai be able to aunswer for myself and by just proof avouch what I have her said. Of the which I have some doupt, I meane of crose dealings towards me; for that nowe, expectinge my dispatche upon the soden, yt is determyned to stey here, untyll the Emperour hier farther from the Quens Majesty. I cannot bethincke the occasion, for, uppon my faithe and credyte, no other thinge hath passed, how fare a shew soever the devise pretended doth carye, but only this which I have trewly sett downe unto your lordship. Dyvers conjectures ther ar, which I leave to the triall of the trewthe.

Most humblie and ernestlie besichinge your lordshippe to be a meanes unto the Quens Majesty that yt would please her Highnes to cause the same letters to be rewryten to the Emperors Majesty and to the Lord Boris Fedorowiche, with the confirmation of the said articles, with some addiccion in the said letters, requisite in suche a case, and in some respect for the indignitey shewed unto her Majesty therby, beinge against the lawe of all nations. The said letters her Highnes signed at the hand of Mr. Wynnebencke and sealed by him, writen by one Sackey, with whome I supose resteth the coppies in regester. Her Majesty did fynde some fault, as Mr. Wynebencke sayethe, for that they were in Englishe,

and in so smalle a fold; but Mr. Secretary thought yt so most conveyniant for dyvers reason considered. I ame perswaded her Majesty wilbe most willinge therunto, thorowe your lordships good means and favor; which I most humbly besiche may be extenited with effectuall expedition, consideringe the extremytey of the case, and then no doubt the Emperors aunswer and Boris Fedorowiches will be aunswereble unto her Majesty's pleasure, and the Company to receave a good content of all there matters now restinge so in dispence; for I perceave Boris Fedorowiche his inclination is now well bent to pleasur the Quens Majesty, and to doe her merchants good; which God graunte!

Farther, yt may please you, right honnorable, that, at my first comingc, the Emperors alowans for provicion was offered me; whiche in modest sortte I refused, for that the Quens Majestie expressly commaunded me, as by Mr. Secretoryes comission aperethe, not to reccave any untill her Majesty's causes were treated of and some lycklyhoed of reformation of ingories past; which is taken in very evill parte: so that I have ben and ame at very greate chardges here. Also I became betrothed to a honest jentlemans daughter in Buckinghamshire longe since; my lose of tyme and those good men's chyldren my servants with me, and the doupt I have of my enymie, Andrew Shalkan, in whome I fynde upon every new conceate a sodaine aleteration and his instigation mischeous; so that these causes, with the hassard of myself and substance, wisheth myself from hence, and moveth me with such ernestye to crave your lordships favorable furtherance, upon the whiche I humblie and whollie rely; and againe besyche your honnour uppon these considerations to have remorse and honnorable care for reliefe and spedy redrese from her Majesty.

Thus, my good lord, if I have ben over tedious, and not used suche formall observation in this discoerse as ys requisit to such a personadge, consideringe the case of necessity and

the oportunitey not servinge, I humblie crave pardone, and whollie commyt myself and cause to your honnorable protection; and do besich God longe to preserve your lordshippe in health. Amen. In Yerauslauley, this of Apriell 1591.

Your lordshipps most
humble at comaunde,
JER. HORSEY.

To the right honorable the Lord Burleghe,
Lord Hight Treasewrour of Englande.

[*From the State Paper Office.—Russian Correspondence.*]

Horsey to Burleigh, 10th June, 1591.

Right Honnorable,—After consideration of my dewty. Yt may please your lordshipe, my last unto your honnor was in Apriell; wherin I did in som parte advertise what my proceadings hath ben her in her Majesty's causes. How that Andrew Shalkan, an officer of the king's, when he should joyne as yt were ishewe with me before honorable audience of purpose apoynted, when he was to aunswer unto all such matters and abuses shewed by him to her Majesty and subjects, which he thought were conninglie folded upe for ever rehearsalle, he beinge the princepall branch of every article I treated of, and now by noe means could avoyed dainger althought he sought many weys to prevent yt, and loth to surrender suche great sommes as he most unconscineable hertofore had exacted, in the end prectised a most shamfull and unreverent invection against her Hightnes letters; that they were not underwriten by her Majesty, and without her knowledge procured by the Company and me of envious purpose, to disburden the wrath conceived against him; that yt could not be her Majesty would imploye me, havinge advertismente I should be a professed enymey to-

wards the Emperowr; beinge done with ernesty and backd by such as he hade wone therunto, for the present tocke suche effect that yt was a great obstacle to our proceadings, and the tyme overtaken with such great effairs, that so yt rested. Untill now of latte her Majesty's causes came againe in question, were overvewed and an orderly coerse therin with my dispatch pretended, much against the said Andrew Shalkans will. A post was sent to call for me, the matters beinge in handlinge the 17th and 18th of May. Upon the 19th of the same a most unfortunate chaunce befell the yonge prince of ix yers adge, sone unto the old Emperor and brother unto this; was cruelly and trecherously murdered; his throte cutt in the presence of his dere mother the Emperis; with other suche lycke most prodigious matter which I dare not wryt of, beinge not so tedious as odious and daungerous. Wherupon such tumolts and uproers being present hath not only caused a lett and stey in her Majesty's causes, but also great doubt of a further detrection; for that no man as yt cane inter into conceate what the ishew and end of these late trowbls wilbe. And farther, yt is to be suspected that our adversary, having this covert oportunytey, will with expedition procecute his former prectise which I wrate your lordship of, meaning to send one from hence with letters in the Emperor's name unto her Majesty, wherby his purposed conceate may be uttered before my talle should be told: the mean tyme to stey me her, as a thing owt of memory in this trowblsome tyme. By which means he thincketh to disburden and clere him self of all such causes as he is now forced to aunswer upon his soule, by order of there lawe, in kissinge the cross. For this, right honorable, is most trew, that the Lord Boris Fedorowich said to him in open adience, "Thow seest the Quene of England, with her duecks and lords, do wryt that the cause of his imployment was in respect of his sufficiency and properly to debate of these causes, wherwith he is fully

aquainted as thow knowest. Also the Emperor is not to be derected by the Quene of England, nether the Quene by the Emperor, whome to imploye in there effeares. See well unto yt what thow hast her avowched; consider what the end wil be, and the great dislycke that will falle betwene the Emperour and the Quene if those things be not trew which thow hast here informed. And if yt be upon galle, thow were better repent thee and macke some parte of restytution whille matters ar now in questynable remedy:"— with other to tedious to wryte of. What the ende herof, right honorable, wilbe as yet I know not, but by all lycklihode I make doupte of my present dispatch. And for that the Companies factors ar now goenge towards the ships, I thought good to wryte this much unto your lordships, doupting her after to have so good conveyance; wherby, if yt so chaunce as I suspect, your honnour maye please to understand these the occasions therof. And accordinge to my formour I humbly besych your honnour to be a means unto her Majesty that the coppies of the formour letters sent by me, with some sharpe adicion requisite in suche a case, might be with all expedicion sente hether overland; which wilbe to great purpose for dyvers respects. The rufnes of the contents of them hath caused me some displeasure, which I may not regard; and no honest and good mynde but will thincke the better of me. For I protest, before God and your lordshipe, all my care is to dischareg my dewty every wey fathfully, withowt respect of pryvatt cause, as shall prove and apere what soever be surmised to the contrary by any. And althought I know the Company doth acknowledge them selves much bounde unto her Majesty, yet now much more, for that yt is well knowen unto them her Majesty's hight dignytey hath ben often greviously towched by gross abuses shewed sondry weys; and yet her Majesty, graciously tendering there good estatte, hath not discontynewed to establishe yt. For her Highnes sacke they have

paid no customes, rents nor any other dewtys this fyve yers. And, farther, they maye perceave what effect her Majestys letters hath taken in their behalf nowe, for the Lord Boris Fedorowiche willed there agents and factors the Company should assewr them selves for the Quens Majestys sacke he would defend and protect them, and be a means for her Majestys merchants to the Emperor in all there causes, willing to know there grevences; caused present and spedy justice in all matters to be geven them, paments to be made them owt of the Emperors treasory, favorable and most fryndly intreated of all magestrats, and that no abewse should be shewed them; to pey no rents, taxations or any other dewtyes. And forthwith the Emperors letters were geaven them, to all officers and authorished people, that the Emperors formor priveleged letters should stand in effect, and noe customes to be taken of them for the Quens Majestys sacke.

And seing there estatte, right honorable, was in such hard case as there complaints doth importe, they may not but acknowledge the reformation originally to proceade from her Majesty; under which also she will I hope confes my dewty discharged; althought my ruff usaege here may worcke some oblicque in the conceate of the evill disposed, if there be any emonge them. And farther, I doubt not yet but the conclusion of all causes wil be in formall sorte confirmed corespondent unto her Majesty's pleasure, and answerable to the Companies expectation in all respects. I humbly take my leave of your lordshippe, and besich God long to preserve your honnour. Amen. This xth of June, .91, in a towne Yerauslauld, in Russia.

Your lordship's most humble,
ever at commaunde,
JER. HORSEY.

To the right honorable Lord Burgleth,
the Lord Hight Treasorer of England, etc.,
geav these.

[*From the State Paper Office.—Russian Correspondence.*]

Jerom Horseis answear to the generall complaints in the Emperouer of Russia his letters.

To the first, it is about xiiii years, Jerom Horsey having the Companies charge in the Mosko, understanding thear wear Flemings coom with shipping by the north seas to traffique at the same port, which the Companie had first found out, and never attempted by any straunger beefore, hee wrote a letter to the sayed Companies agent that, this disgrace beeing so great and the discommoditie greater if the Companie would not remedie it, Jerom Horsey woulde fynd means to stoppe their comming thither. This matter was never in question xii years space, but now accompted treason to the King and his countrey. The copie of this letter was urged to Mr. Doctor Fletcher, who hath it to shiew.

2. Jerom Horsey was imployed about fower years from hir Majestie beefore Mr. Fletchers going over. At which time hee procured to the Companie free priviledges and brought them to the Queen. A service that had most gracious acceptance of hir Majestie: upon the which Jerom Horsey might vaunt in soom respect although hee never ment it.

3. It is well knowen that an officer, on Andreas Shalkan, (beeing full of gall) practized with a servant of Jerome Horseys in the Mosko, to invent soom speach pretended to bee spoken by his master to Mr. Fletcher, which might sound offensive to the Emperour. The sayed servant (to purchase his lewd libertie) was willing and did so: thearupon renounsed his faith, was rebaptized and rewarded by Andreas Shalkan. This matter accompted also treason to the Emperour. Mr. Fletcher was present and knoweth how false a suggestion this was, and since by a substanciall letter of proof extant the party that was the chief doer thearin asketh

forgevenes, promising never to commit the lyke treacherie again. For any thing Jerom Horsey should speak that might toutch hir Majesty's dignitie, how can it stand with naturall reason hee should speak against them both or either of them; especially against his soveraign lady and mistresse, whose high Majestie hee alwayes took for defence in all his proceedings? But hee protesteth before the living Lord, who knoweth the secreats of all mens harts, that these ar meer suggestions without any proof. Mr. Fletcher did urge to know the perticulars and what they wear very earnestly, and none could bee produced other then this, that hee went about to practize to debarre all strangers (bysides the Companie) to coom and trade into Russia by the north seas.

4. Jerom Horsey hath ever and altogither stood in the Companies beehalf in all causes they have had to doe in the Emperours court; and especially with Andreo Shalkan, for many abuses offred by him and crost in the same by Jerom Horsey. Andreas Shalkan, now understanding soom differrences depending bectwene the Companie with Horsey, hath set downe this clause as a means to maintein the sayed controversie, perceiving it serveth their humour. For notice was given by soom of them, that this his last imploiment was altogither doon with their dislyke.

5. Thear is no other way to pass into Russia, but through the king of Polonia his countrey; and at that time Liefland borderours wear full of the Sweathian souldiers. Jerom Horsey had past the very same way three severall journeys beefore that time, beeing a surer and nearer way then any other. For any speach should bee spoken of the Emperour in Poland it is only surmised to serve Andro Shalkans suspicion. For if thear wear any particulars knowen, without all question they should bee sett down to the uttermost; and thearfoare this general suggestion is made so heynous that it deserveth death, for heartofore it was so usuall a thing to put

to death upon suspition only, that it hath yet left beehynd it this praise of speach.

6. Thear wear appointed certein of the nobilitie to hear Jerom Horsey: Andro Shalkan beeing wholy exempted, grieving much thearat, sayeth, hee was committed to the custody of the sayed nobilitie.

7. The Emperours stile was not abridged, but after the principalls wear specified, thear followed this parenthesis, *with many other kingdomes, etc.*, not thought requisite by Mr. Secreatary that every perticular town in his countrey should bee named: the folld of the letter would not contein such an endorsement: and for that it was English it was sealed with the signet. All this was thought metest to bee so: whose honour's experience Jerom Horsey was not to interrupt, who beeing asked thearof sayed, it was hir Majesty's privie signet, and not the seal of hir treasury; neither can it bee found so in the Russe language: but at the first the little seal and all other matters wear well lyked of, untill Shalkan was thoroughly toutched with his abuses.

8. The Emperour and Borris Federowich receaved the Queens letters at the first, without any question of stile, folld or seale; and willed Jerom Horsey not to fear his great enimy, Andro Shalkan, but freely to say what hee could against him, and so hee proceeded for the space of xiii weeks very orderly. At which time thear burst out the practizes of great civill tumults. Then Andreas Shalkan took the oportunitie of the time against hime, disposing of all matters at his pleasure.

9. The matters Jerom Horsey treated of wear very agreeable to hir Majesty's pleasure, both with the contents of hir Highnes letters, as also with the effect of the letters commendatorie from hir Majesties most honourable Counsaill. But how agreable the acceptance of hir Majesty's presents, letters and ambassages, sent by Mr. Fletcher, wear, with the protestation of amety in the Emperour's letter, the deeds

shewed it self by the course observed in all other proceedings. And how trew this information is, that the Secreatary should write letters without hir Majesty's knowledge, and if it wear not urged by the necessitie of worthie occasions, Jerom Horsey humbly referreth the judgement thearof unto your lordship's experience.

10. Whearas it is sayed Jerom Horsey to have larger allowance then any other, it is well knowen Andrew Shalkan did practize to murder him secreatly within 30 miles of the Mosko, at a castle called Zvenigorod. Hee intercepted the Counsells letters to the Lord Boris Federowich, the Queens letters patents, and many other writings, corrupted the translation of the Queen's letters, which is a common prectize with him. Hee also sent spies and vile persons, many to his lodging, whear in their drunckennes they confessed their pretended pourposes, so that Jerom Horsey was forced to keep armed watch and ward continually. And the allowance spoken of Andrew Shalkan reserved to himself; Jerom Horsey never received the valew of one penny of the Emperours allowance, but was at great charge with himselfe, eight servants and fower horses.

11. The doubt made of the delivery of the letters to hir Majestie that Mr. Fletcher brought, is well knowen to the contrary; for, after the delivery of them, it pleased the Queens Majestie to enquire of these complaints of Mr. Fletcher at Oatlands, and thearfore no newe thing as well of the speach I should use as was infourmed of the Emperour, of the priviledges brought unto hir Majestie, of the burning of a man, of a midwief sent thither and other odious infourmations, which Mr. Doctor Fletcher by commission thoroughly examined and inquired after, and all proved to bee most false.

My good lordship, may it please your honour, I have hear briefly set down the very truth against these complaints, and am to bee proved and justified by such English men as wear

then in the countrey (if need requier) upon their oath. Farther, my good lord, thear was never letter yet written in the Emperour's name, but it is furnished with Shalkan's humour, and conteineth (as they tearme them) great complaints. So generall a thing it is, that every triffell they pretend offensive deserveth death. But the old Emperour, and please your honour, this Emperour, and also Boris, have often written highly in my commendation, and small notice ever taken thearof. And it is only required that I might not bee employed any more, for bycause they seeing I am fully acquainted with all the dishonours and abuses ever doon towards hir Majestie and subjects for xxtie years space, and now beeing sharpely toutched thearwith, and never beefore so thoroughly explayned as by the articles I treated of appeareth; a course thought so necessarie, by all men of that experience, and well knowen, although not so acknowledged, as hath proved to good effect. For I allwayes carried a zealous care (God knoweth) of the preservation of hir Majesty's high dignitie among them; who have and doe alwayes impeach it greatly. This only hath redounded to myne own hurt and discredit to the world; for they do perswade themselves hir Majesty's pleasure beeing so roundlie delivered, proceedeth only thorough my instigation and thearfore not willing ever to enter with mee in communication of those matters again. Hearby it may be seen, my good lord, that I have discharged my dewty to my uttermost abilitie, for if I had had any respect to myne own particular and privat cause (so doubtfully depending among them) I might have besought her Majestie and your lordship for placable letters, commendatory to the Emperour and Boris Federowich, for my relief. And thearfore, good my lord, I most humbly pray you, sithence my hard hap is such that my faithfull endeavour doth take no better effect one no side, which being considered is lamentable only to my extream hinderance and toyll, that hir Majestie might not bee

further incensed against mee, whearby I might not bee deprived of your most gracious favour, [and that] which hetherto hir Highnes doth extend towards mee. At this time (if it may please your honour) for divers respects, your woord may doe more hurt then ever anything hercafter may doe mee good. And soe I humbly committ my self unto your lordships favourable good opinion.

Your lordships dewring life most bounden,

JER. HORSEY.

[*From the State Paper Office.—Russian Correspondence.*]

MATTERS OBJECTED AGAINST MR. HORSEY BY THE EMPEROURS COUNSEL OF RUSLAND [ANSWERED BY DR. GILES FLETCHER].

1. That hee advised by letter with the Companies agent to repell the Neatherlandish shippes that traded for Rusland by the port of St. Nicolas. This was taken in very hainous part by the Emperour and his Counsell, bycause of their practise by all means they can to enlarge that trade by the bay of St. Nicolas, as thincking it a far better and surer way to vent their own commodities and to bring in forrein then the other through the Sound by the Narve and Riga, which lye under check and ar many times stopped up by reason of their warres with the Polonian and Sweden. And thearfore they urged this matter against him in very earnest sort, as a practise against their state and a matter of high treason. This letter written by Mr. Horsey imported rather a good meaning and zeal towards the Companie by whome hee was emploied thear then any ill purpose towards the Emperour or his countrey. And so it was answeared.

2. That hee had spoken certein unreverend woords against the Emperour himself; *vz.*, that hee was meeter to bee a

friar then a king, and to bear a pair of beads then a scepter. For this they threatned him the stake and the pudkey, but that the Emperour was content (as they sayed) to remitt it at my intreaty for the Queens sake.

This accusation (beeing charged to have spoken it at my table by his own servant, who had contracted himself in marriage in that countrey and sought by this means to put himself into favour with Shalkan the Chauncellour, who hated Jerome Horsey) I kniew to bee false, and answeared it accordingly.

3. That hee had delt in a matter perteining to the Empresse; *vz.*, had procured a midwyfe to bee sent owt of England; whearas the Empresse (as they sayed) gave him no suche commission, neither had need of any suche woman, beeing not with child. This matter I found to bee mistaken by Mr. Horsey, who had received his charge, not from the Empresse, but from hir brother, Borrise Federowich Godonoe, to procure owt of England, not a midwyfe, but soom Doctoritza that had skill in woomens matters, to make them conceive, etc.; bycause the Empresse, beeing barren, they feared the inheritance of the crown would goe to the Emperours younger brother, and so the Godonoes should louse their greatnes and bee accountant for their government under the Emperour.

4. The malice of Shalkan the Chauncellor towards Mr. Horsey grounded upon matter irreconciliable. This hath aggravated the other matters and made them so haynous, though otherwise they have ben sufficiently answeared.

The answear to the Emperours last letter, toutching hir Majesties sending over of Jerom Horsey (under correction) would bee eaven the plain truth, to this or lyke effect, *vz.*— That Mr. Horsey was brought over and delivered hear by hir ambassadour, G[iles] F[letcher], as a man in disgrace. That, beeing so brought over as a prisoner, on soodain and

having left bechynd him a great part of his state in that countrey, it was intreated of hir Majesty, by mediation of one of hir counsellours who favoured the man and is now dead, that hee should have leave to passe over again, as well to clear himself of the crimes objected against him on the beehalf of the Emperour (whome hir Majestie by all means will have honoured by hir subject) which also Jerom Horsey alleadged hee could doe if he might be heard by the Lord Borrise Federowich himself, as also for the clearing of his state and recovering his debts in that countrey. That hir Majestie, now understanding the Emperours resolute pleasure touching the sayed Jerom, hath given charge that hee shall not hearafter repair into the Emperours countries, and will farther bee carefull that noe other of hir subjects bee sent thither save such as shalbee of honest condition and ready to doe good offices beetwixt the Emperour and hir Majestie, etc.

[*From Hakluyt's Voyages*, vol. i, p. 563.]

The Queenes Majesties letter to Theodore Ivanovich, Emperour of Russia, 1591 [1592].

Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., to the right high, mighty and right noble prince, Theodore Ivanowich, Great Lord, King, and Great Duke of all Russia, Volodemer, Mosco, Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and Great Duke of Smolensko, Otver, Ughory, Perme, Viatski, Bolgory, and other places, Lord and Great Duke of Novogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostove, Yeraslave, Bealozero and Lifland, of Oudorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and commander of all

Sibierland and the north coasts; Great Lord over the country of Ivensky, Grisinsky; Emperor of Kabardinsky, and of the countrey of Charkasky, and of the countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other countreys; our most deare and loving brother, greeting.

Right noble and excellent prince, we have received your Majesties letters, brought over by our merchants in their returne of their last voyage from your port of S. Nicholas. Which letters we have advisedly read and considered, and thereby perceive that your Majestie doth greatly mislike of our late imployment of Jerome Horsey into your dominions as our messenger with our Highnesse letters; and also that your Majesty doth thinke that we in our letters, sent by the sayd messenger, have not observed that due order or respect which apperteined to your princely Majesty, in the forme of the same letter, aswel touching the inlargement of your Majesties stile and titles of honor, which your Majestey expected to have bene therein more particularly expressed, as also in the adding of our greatest seale or signet of armes to the letters which we send to so great a Prince as your Majesty is. In any of which points we would have bene very loth willingly to have given just cause of offence thereby to our most deare and loving brother. And as touching the sayd messenger, Jerome Horsey, we are sory that, contrary to our expectation, he is fallen into your Majestics displeasure; whom we minde not to mainteine in any his actions by which he hath so incurred your Majesties mislike: yet that we had reason, at such time as we sent him to your Majesty, to use his service as our messenger, we referre ourselves to your princely judgement, praying your Majesty to reduce into your minde the especiall commendation, which in your letters written unto us in the yeere 1585 you made of the sayd Jerome Horsey his behaviour in your dominions: at which time your Majesty was pleased to use his service as your messenger to us, requiring our answere of your letters

to be returned by him and by none other. That imployment, with other occasions taken by your Majesty to use the service of the sayd Jerome Horsey, as namely in the yeere 1587, when your Majesty sent him againe to us with your letters and your liberall and princely priviledge, at our request granted to our merchants (for which we have heretofore given thanks to your Majesty, so doe we hereby reiterate our thankefulnesse for the same), mooved us to be of minde that we could not make choice of any of our subjects so fit a messenger to your Majesty as he whom your Majesty had at severall times used upon your own occasions into this our realme. But least your Highnesse should continue of the minde that the letters which you sent by our ambassador, Giles Fletcher (wherein some mention was made of your conceived displeasure against the said Horsey), came not to our hands, and that wee were kept ignorant of the complaint which your Majesty made therein against the said Horsey, we do not deny but that we were acquainted, aswell by our ambassadour as by those letters, of some displeasure conceived against him by your Majesty: but your said letters giving onely a short generall mention of some misdemeanour committed by him, expressing no particulars, we were of opinion that this offence was not so hainous, as that it might utterly extinguishe all your former princely favour towards him, but that upon his humble submission to your Majesty, or upon better examination of the matter of the displeasure conceived against him, the offence might have beene either remitted, or he thereof might have cleared himselfe. And to that end we were not onely by his great importunity long sollicited, but by the intercession of some of our nobility giving credit to his owne defence, we were intreated on his behalfe to use his service once againe into Russia as our messinger to your Majesty, whereby he might have opportunity to cleare himselfe, and either by his answere or by his submission recover your Majesties former

favour: whereunto our princely nature was mooved to yeeld, wishing the good of our subject so farre foorth as his desert might carry him, or his innocencie clear him.

Thus, noble Prince, our most loving and dearest brother, it may appeare unto your Majesty how we were induced to use the service of the sayd messenger, aswell for the recovery of your Majesties favour towards him (if he hade bene found woorthy of it) as for experience of the maners and fashions of your countrey, where he hath bene much conversant. But sith by your Majesties letters it appeareth that he hath not cleared himselfe in your Majesties sight, we meane not to use him in any such price hereafter.

And as touching your Majesties conceit of the brevitie which we used in the setting downe of your Majesties stile and titles of honour; as nothing is farther from us then to abridge so great and mighty a prince of the honour due unto him (whom we holde for his greatnesse to deserve more honour than we are able to give him), so shall we need no further nor surer argument to cleare us of the suspicion of detracting from your Majesty any part of your just and princely honor and greatnesse, then the consideration of our own stile, which is thus contracted, *videlecet*, "Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.," which kingdoms and dominions of ours are expressed by these general words, *videlicit*, England, France and Ireland; in every of which there are severall principalities, dukedomes, and earledomes, provinces and countreyes; which being severally expressed would enlarge much our stile, and make it of great length, which by our progenitory hath not bene used. Notwithstanding, we think it no dishonour to us compendiously to abridge the same in all our writings and letters, written to what prince, king or potentate soever. Whereupon we inferre that, holdinge your Majesties generall stile, we offer your Highnesse no dishonour in not expressing all the particular provinces;

albeit we can willingly content ourselfe, upon the knowledge of your usages and customes, to observe that course which your selfe shall thinke most honourable. And for the sealing up of our letters which we write to all our allies, kinsmen and friends, kings and princes, we have in use two severall seales. And as the volume of our letters falleth out to be great or small, so accordingly is our greater or lesse seale annexed to the sayd letters, without esteeming either of them more or lesse honourable than the other. So as, our most loving and dearest brother, in the said letters there was nothing done of purpose to detract from your Majesty anything of the usuall regarde which our Highnesse was woont to yeeld unto your most noble father of famous memory, Ivan Basilivich, Emperor of al Russia, or to your selfe, our dearest brother.

For the residue of the points of your Majesties letters, concerning the entertainement of our ambassadour, and proceeding in the cause of Anthonie Marsh, we holde our selfe satisfied with your princely answeare, and doe therein note an honourable and princely care in your Majestie to prevent the like troubles, controversies and sutes, that Marshes cause stirred between our merchants and your subjects, which is, that your Majestie doeth purpose from time to time to purge your countrey of such straglers of our subjects as doe or shall hereafter abide there, and are not of the Company of our merchants, but contemptuously depart out of our land without our Highnesse licence; of which sort there are presented unto us from our merchants the names of these severall persons, *videlicet*, Richard Cocks, Bennet Jackman, Rainold Kitchin, Simon Rogers, Michael Lane, Thomas Worsenham; whom it may please your Majesty by your princely order to dismiss out of your land, that they may be sent home in the next shippes, to avoid the mislike which their residence in those parts might breed, to the disturbance of our brotherly league and the impeaching of the entercourse.

And, whereas, most loving and dearest brother, one William Turnebull, a subject of ours, is lately deceased in your kingdome, one with whom our merchants have had much controversie for great summes of money due unto them by him while he was their agent in their affayres, of merchandises; which differences by arbitrable order were reduced to the summe of 3000 rubbles, and so much should have beene payed by him, as may appeare by your Majesties councell or magistrates of justice by very credible information and testimony; and whereas also the sayd Turnbull was further indebted by billes of his owne hand to divers of our subjects, amounting in the whole to the summe of 1326 pounds, which billes are exemplified under our great seale of England, and to be sent over with this bearer; of which summes he hath often promised payment; it may please your most excellent Majestie, in your approoved love to justice, to give order to your favourable councell and magistrates, that those severall debts may be satisfied to our merchants and subjects out of the goods, merchandise and debts, which are due to the state of the sayd Turnbull; whereof your Majesties councell shalbe informmed by the agent of our merchants.

The Emperor seised our merchants goods.

We trust we shall not need to make any new request by motion to your Majesty that some order might be taken for the finding out of the rest of our merchants goods seised to your Majesties use, in the hands and possession of John Chappell their servant, being a thing granted, and no doubt already performed by your Majesties order. We therefore intreat your Majesty that, as conveniently as may be, satisfaction or recompense be given to our said merchants, towards the repairing of their sundry great losses aswell therein as otherwise by them of late sundry wayes sustained. And lastly, our most deare and loving brother, as nothing in all these our occasions is to be preferred before our entire league and amitie, descending upon us as an inheritance, in

succession from both our ancestours and noble progenitours, so let us be carefull on both sides by all good meanes to holde and continue the same to our posterity for ever. And if any mistaking or errour of either side do rise, in not accomplishing of circumstances agreeable to the fashion of either of our countreys and kingdomes, let the same upon our enterchangeable letters be reconciled, that our league and amitie be no way impeached for any particular occasion whatsoever. And thus we recommend your Majesty to the tuition of the most High. From our royall palace of Whitehall, the 14 of January, *anno Domini* 1591 [1592].

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